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Total	\$2,212,065 91
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1899.

The Week.

Mr. Dingley's death removes from the House a type of man too rarely found in its membership. He owed his place and influence there to no brilliant qualities of oratory or leadership, but to the solid and somewhat plodding characteristics of a business man devoting his time to public affairs. An absolute freedom from all demagogue's tricks, and a personal integrity which was never questioned, gave him the unfailing respect of his constituents and colleagues. Such a quiet and steady confidence as was reposed in him is, after all, a finer personal tribute than the more demonstrative admiration which a showy man often evokes. As leader of the House, Mr. Dingley was a success very much as that other business man, W. H. Smith, was a success as leader of the House of Commons; that is to say, without any fireworks, but with tact and patience, he applied himself to the business in hand and got it done. His economic ideas, such as they were, never had a fair chance to be embodied into law, as the unhappy tariff measure with which his name is unfortunately associated was notoriously forced upon him, in its more flagrant schedules, against his judgment. The ferocious warfare already afloat between the rival beneficiaries of the wool clauses of his bill is one melancholy proof more of the hopelessness of making a "satisfactory" and stable protective tariff. It was said of Burke that he studied national commerce with a zeal as great as if he were to receive a commission on each transaction. Mr. Dingley was also, in his sphere and with his limitations, a serious student of finance and trade; and the disappearance of one of the lessening number of our public men of that class cannot but be regarded, whether we agree with him or not, as a real loss.

From the military point of view, Gen. Eagan's extraordinary attack upon Gen. Miles would prove a blessing in disguise if it could arouse the President and Congress to a realization of what the real trouble with the army is. Every military text-book of any value lays down as the fundamental theory of army organization a system of accountability by which every soldier and officer is subordinate and responsible to some one else, up to the commanding officer, upon whom rests the final responsibility for the army's efficiency and value as a fighting machine. This vital principle, never fully carried out in this country, because of the peculiar position of the civilian Secretary of War, has practically been abandoned

ever since President Grant reduced the position of the Commanding General to a mere sinecure, gave the Secretary of War powers never intended for him, and made the Adjutant-General really the most influential officer of the army, instead of merely the military secretary of the Commanding General, as he should be. As a result of this we have the present situation, in which staff generals like Eagan not only pay no attention to the Commanding General, but actually declare themselves totally independent of his authority. One need only think of what would happen to any large dry-goods house which let every chief of department run his part of the business independently of the others and of the firm, to see how utterly preposterous it is to try to run a great national department, let alone a military one, upon such principles. Yet our much-vaunted expansion, with its promised increase of efficiency in all departments of the Government, has brought us no nearer to army reform than the drafting of a bill which intensifies and increases every evil in existence, and which, in view of the fact that we have European experience to draw upon, may justly be called a monumental piece of ignorant and foolish legislation.

The public has learned with great satisfaction that there is to be a trial by court-martial of Commissary-General Eagan. There is only one thing which could deepen the disgrace inflicted on the nation and the army by his conduct, and that is that it should go unpunished, or should escape with nominal punishment. It will doubtless be hard for President McKinley to be severe on one of his close coadjutors during the war, who was helping him to show that Alger had managed it well; but Eagan has left him no alternative. We do not recall any incident in the national history so well calculated to give foreigners a low idea of our morals, manners, and military discipline. When a staff officer can pass half an hour reading a paper of filthy abuse of his commanding officer, without interruption from a so-called "board of inquiry," it is no wonder that the Spanish Minister of Marine thought all our sailors would jump overboard when the fighting in the late war began. The thing to be done with Eagan, the only thing that will suffice, is to relegate him to private life, without ifs, buts, or "pulls." He cannot, or, at least, ought not to, be allowed to remain in the army. He has been there thirty years, and has apparently not learned the very rudiments of military discipline, or of civil decency.

Each day furnishes fresh evidence that

we are going to have a thorough discussion of the great issues involved in the Philippine question. For one thing, we have emerged from the period in which everybody "stood behind the President," and Mr. McKinley was encouraged to go ahead and do anything he liked because Republicans and Democrats alike were backing him up. What Mr. McKinley now does is subjected to scrutiny and criticism, as the conduct of the American Executive should be and must be if he is not to become an irresponsible dictator. It no longer suffices to say, "The President has done so and so," because people no longer believe that the President can do no wrong. On the contrary, public men do not hesitate to declare that in his recent action in regard to the Philippine situation Mr. McKinley has been guilty of usurpation of power. His supporters are forced to try to defend his action as within the prerogatives of the Executive, instead of devoting themselves to fulsome praise of his patriotism and statesmanship.

The proposed Philippine commission is not yet formally appointed, and the scope of its duties is still undetermined. One story represents that its work "will be purely of an economic, and not of a political, nature; it will not attempt to deal with the problem of government for the islands." Another says that it "will deal solely with the political questions involved in the conquest of the Philippines by the American forces." The *Evening Post's* Washington correspondent offers what seems the most reasonable explanation, that "it is not intended to be a commission in the ordinary sense, but is designed by the President to act as a sort of advisory board, a local cabinet, as it were, to live in the Philippines and counsel him as to each new step in colonial development." Whatever the precise duties of this body may be, it is obvious that they must be most important and responsible. Nobody is fit to be a member of such a commission who is not a man of high character, of proved ability, of demonstrated discretion and judgment. Some at least of its members should, besides, possess knowledge of conditions in the East, and particularly of the Philippine archipelago, if such men can be found. Mr. McKinley's first choices for the three civilian members of the commission were President Schurman of Cornell University, who is to be its chairman, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of the University of Michigan, and Charles Denby of Indiana. It seems high praise, and yet we think it is the simple truth to say that this is an ideal commission for the object in view. It would be hard to pick out three men in the United States who are so well qualified in every

way for so responsible and delicate a mission. The question of the need, the legality, even of the motive of this commission remains open. Is it another red-herring like the military board of inquiry?

The recent appointment of a professional politician of Alabama to the consul-generalship at Singapore seems the more extraordinary and indefensible, because the Administration had just had brought home to it the importance of having an able and discreet man in that position. Singapore is near enough Manila to make the representative of our Government there always liable to be involved in the complications of the Philippine question. It appears that early in June last Mr. Pratt, our late Consul-General there, received a delegation of Filipinos, who approached him as "the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American republic," referred to "the programme arranged between you and Gen. Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore," and expressed the "hope that the United States will efficaciously second the programme and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States." In his reply Mr. Pratt accepted the implication that he enjoyed practically absolute power in the premises, and said, among other things:

"When, six weeks ago, I learned that Gen. Aguinaldo had arrived incognito in Singapore, I immediately sought him out. An hour's interview convinced me he was the man for the occasion, and, having communicated with Admiral Dewey, I accordingly arranged for him to join the latter, which he did, at Cavité. I am thankful to have been the means, though merely the accidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between Gen. Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventual outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and welfare of the Filipinos."

Immediately upon receiving news of this performance by our Consul-General at Singapore, Secretary Day of the State Department telegraphed a sharp rebuke, instructing him to "avoid unauthorized negotiations" with the Philippine insurgents. In a longer communication by mail, Mr. Day said plainly that there was "a feeling of disquietude and a doubt as to whether some of your acts may not have borne a significance and produced an impression which this Government would be compelled to regret." Mr. Day pointed out that the address presented to Mr. Pratt by the Filipinos disclosed an understanding on their part that the object of Admiral Dewey was to support the cause of Aguinaldo, and that the ultimate object of our action was to secure the independence of the Philippines, "under the protection of the United States"; and that Mr. Pratt's reply did not repel this implication, while it represented that Gen. Aguinaldo was "sought out" by him. The Secretary said

also: "Your further reference to Gen. Aguinaldo as 'the man for the occasion,' and to your 'bringing about' the 'arrangement' between Gen. Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey 'which has resulted so happily,' also represents the matter in a light which causes apprehension lest your action may have laid the ground of future misunderstanding and complications." All this showed that Mr. Pratt was unfit for his place. But it also showed that his successor should be a man who was conspicuously qualified for it by ability, character, and proved discretion. Instead of selecting such a man, however, the President has treated this responsible position as a "plum," to be given to a Republican "worker" in Alabama.

Senator Hanna's ship-subsidy bill sticks unaccountably on the stocks. With his *sic jubeo* upon it, and with the prudently arranged endorsement of it by the President in his message, one would have expected the measure not only to have been launched by this time, but to be well on its way to its desired haven. To drop nautical metaphors, several ugly obstacles have been discovered in Mr. Hanna's path. One of them is a revival of the fine idea of a bounty on agricultural exports, and a crafty plan to hitch that wagon to the star of the shipping-subsidy bill. Senator Hansbrough has already moved it as an amendment to the Hanna bill. No one could hold that it is not germane. Bounty for bounty, one on wheat exported is as fair as one on ships, and would go to far more necessitous folk than the other. There is a chance for beautiful argument on it, anyhow, and the session is slipping away. All told, therefore, in spite of the superior airs of Mr. Hanna, and notwithstanding his enlisting the services of a literary bureau and "plate-matter" to speed his bill, we do not look to see this particular form of expansion of the profits of good Republicans become law just yet.

The Governor of Vermont failed in his first effort to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Morrill; the veteran lawyer whom he originally picked out being constrained by family reasons to decline the place. Gov. Smith, however, stuck to the principle which had dictated the choice of Mr. Fildes, and has now found a man of the same type who will accept the office until the Legislature shall fill it in the fall of 1900. Chief Justice Ross of the Supreme Court was born in 1826, a few months earlier than Senator Hawley, and will regard his temporary incumbency of the place as the crown of a long and honorable career, rather than as a stepping-stone to a period of permanent service as a national legislator. His appointment as Senator calls attention to the system of

a virtual life tenure of the judgeships which prevails in Vermont under elections of the whole Supreme bench by the Legislature every other year. He was chosen a justice in 1870, and has been re-elected as his term expired ever since, being promoted to the Chief Justiceship in 1890. As there is no age limit for judges in Vermont, he undoubtedly might have remained on the bench as long as health and inclination to work had continued.

The senatorial contest in Connecticut has ended in the best way for the interests of the State and for the cause of good politics. Gen. Hawley is immeasurably superior in character and standing to either of the Republicans who sought to supplant him; and his success represents the wishes of the mass of Republican voters, while a victory for either of his rivals would have represented wire-pulling and pipe-laying. Returning to the Senate for another six years, at an age when he cannot expect anything in politics beyond this term of the office, Gen. Hawley ought to develop once more the independence of thought and action which distinguished him a quarter of a century ago, when he fought the force-bill policy of the extremists in his party. The Hawley of that period has disappeared of late years, but there ought to be the possibility of reviving him, and it would be a good thing for the nation as well as the State if the end of his long political career should show him once more a spokesman of the New England intellect and conscience in the new issues which confront us.

Mr. Depew was in a very happy frame of mind when the information reached him on Thursday that he had received the Republican caucus nomination for the Senate, which accounts for his treatment of the information as news. That was his little joke. He and the Old Man have known all about it for many weeks. It pleased him to say that he was specially gratified at the unanimity of the caucus, but that was merely an outward indication of the beautiful perfection of Platt's system. If Platt had told the Republican members, a minute before the caucus assembled, to drop Depew and hand a unanimous nomination to Odell, or Payne, or Quigg, or any other man, the order would have been obeyed without hesitation or friction. If there is anything to be proud of in unanimity of that sort, Platt is the man to feel the pride. It is a fortunate thing for the State that he has been willing to exercise his power in favor of Mr. Depew, rather than of some far less competent person. Mr. Depew has sound views on the money question, as well as on many other subjects of importance, and he has the ability to express them. Whatever else he does to please Platt, he will never acquiesce in the latter's fundamen-

tal rule of legislative conduct—"Vote and don't talk." Senator Depew can be depended upon to talk.

Everything that Gov. Roosevelt has proposed to do thus far is unassailable by the politicians, because it is so obviously in line with his pre-election pledges and so directly in the interest of simple good government. He is scouring the State for the best men he can secure for all important places. He is advocating legislation in the best interest of the State, and he is also taking steps which will make all legislation so open and so strictly in accordance with legal requirements that no bad measures can be passed in ignorance of their real character. His recent action in regard to legislative methods, taken in accordance with a suggestion which was made to him by the City Club, is extremely valuable. He had a conference with the presiding officers of the two houses of the Legislature, and had an agreement reached that no bill should be considered by him which reached him without all amendments to and changes in existing laws made by it indicated plainly by italics. This is simply saying that the laws defining legislative procedure shall be obeyed, but it is none the less a deadly blow at a legislative practice which has been coming more and more steadily into use during the past few years, for the purpose of concealing the character of vicious legislation. Another equally valuable decision made at the conference was that all local, special, and private bills should be considered during the first two months of the session, and not left to be "jammed through" in the rush of the closing hours. Anybody familiar with what is known as the "legislative business," knows that in these two ways the Governor has interfered seriously with the business of legislative jobbers of all kinds, and it is not surprising, therefore, that threats of trouble should be audible from the persons who are thus afflicted.

It is a little cruel to his Mayor for Mr. Croker to assume so openly as he does, in his various addresses to the public, full responsibility for the city government. He takes upon himself the task of explaining all matters of municipal policy, taxation, improvements, higher municipal salaries, everything. The Mayor is ignored as completely as if he were of no more importance in the government than Mr. Croker's bootblack. Not only does Croker assume the powers and duties of the Mayor, but of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the Municipal Assembly, and of the heads of departments. He is, as Quigg would say, "the whole thing." The seat of municipal government is not in the city hall, but in the Croker Club in Fifth Avenue. This is the "larger measure of home rule" which our new charter has

secured for us. A few weeks ago the two houses of the Municipal Assembly, which were, you will remember, to be the embodiment of this larger home-rule spirit in the charter, presumed for a few sessions to delay the progress of some Tammany measures. Mr. Croker addressed a public rebuke to the members for neglect of duty. The consequence was that at the next session every one of the measures was passed with a "rush." Home rule has seldom had a more signal triumph. In view of the enormous boon which the charter has been to him, it seems ungrateful for Croker to say that our increase in taxation is due to the immense debt which consolidation heaped upon us. Where would he be to-day without the "fundamental advantages of consolidation"? He might be forced to live abroad all the time, or even to work for a living.

Frederic Harrison does not agree with Mr. Chamberlain that the best way to secure domestic reforms is to assume crushing foreign burdens. In his annual address the other day before the Positivist Society, he refused to say anything about internal politics and home affairs, because they "had come to an end." "Imperial expansion," remarked this antiquated philosopher, "meant domestic stagnation. It swallowed up the energies of Liberalism and bartered progress for glory." Mr. Harrison pointed to the deplorable condition of the Liberal party, now a rabble without leader or discipline or a flag, and asked what was the cause of the disintegration and demoralization. He replied with truth that it was imperialism which had broken up the party. On such a question it was impossible to play fast and loose—to have a party "one half Radical buff and the other half Jingo scarlet." It was not possible to ease the burdens of the masses at home as long as more square miles of tropical wilderness were added every year to their load. It was certain that their internal problems would never be solved by bubble-speculators and empire-gamblers who were teaching the people to ask, "What do we get out of Uganda and Wei-Hai-Wei?" These opinions of Mr. Harrison are not, of course, worth the attention of any American for one moment. The only Englishmen we should listen to at this hour are the men who are giving us the advice which Bismarck gave France—to go madly to colonizing; with what results we see.

Sir William Harcourt did not pound away at Romish practices in the Church of England in vain. He has succeeded in stirring up the authorities, both to a recognition of the existence of illegal ceremonies and to threats to proceed against offenders. The Archbishop of York has issued a pastoral in which he

speaks of complaints over "the introduction of services which are in no way authorized by the Prayer-Book," and which are "Roman in character." Then this prelate proceeds to specify no less than twelve ritualistic practices which he says are condemned by the episcopate—including unauthorized holy days, the use of incense, asperging, burning candles before pictures, invocation of angels or the Virgin, and "habitual confession." As the Ritualists are made of martyr stuff, there will doubtless be prosecutions. Lord Salisbury has said that it is the duty of the bishops to restrain their clergy, and that, if they do not do it, they themselves "ought to be punished." This gave Harcourt a chance for a truly Salisburian retort. Asking how the derelict bishops were to be punished, he recalled the short work which Salisbury's ancestor made of recusant ecclesiastics in Queen Elizabeth's time, but added: "Other days, milder manners. Lord Salisbury would not, like Burleigh, suspend a Romanizing prelate—he has only promoted him." This refers, of course, to Salisbury's recent appointment of a Ritualist to the see of London. All told, Sir William is justifiably complacent over the storm he has blown up. But no political consequences of moment will follow, unless, as Dr. Guinness Rogers says, Harcourt is willing to go the length of proposing Disestablishment. Then, indeed, the Nonconformists would be roused.

The French judge, M. Beaupaire, who has torn off his gown and flung away his wig and joined the anti-Dreyfus mob, is evidently a man who has long been uneasy on the bench. He is not going to wait, as Lord Eldon did, to the end of his life to regret that he had not begun life as an agitator, but breaks off his judicial career while yet there is time. His abuse of his late colleagues seems to be only a mass of incoherent suspicion. We begin to see what kind of poison is at work in him, however, when we read that he felt "stabbed to the heart" when the judges actually dared to cross-examine the brave officers who came to swear that Dreyfus was guilty—they would swear it because they were sure of it; in fact, they thought so. This judge, haranguing and foaming at the mouth, is one of the alarming signs of the times in France. We need not flatter ourselves that we are wholly without his kind. The same judge of the United States Supreme Court who made a stump speech from the bench at the time of the income-tax decision, and who may yet have to pass judicially on Philippine annexation, discussed that question before a Washington audience on Wednesday week, and told them that "we have reached a period when we do not care what any nation on earth thinks about our politics."

SIGNS OF A HALT.

Only yesterday we were afraid that large numbers of the Filipinos would be killed by the American forces for not obeying the perfectly arbitrary commands of William McKinley. The islands had been in revolt against the Spaniards for two centuries, and according to us, justifiably in revolt. Admiral Dewey found them in revolt, and availed himself of the services of the rebels against Spain, as far as he could. In fact, we gave them every reason to believe that one of our objects in destroying the Spanish fleet and taking possession of Manila, was to deliver the islands from Spanish rule, in the same way that we said we were delivering Cuba. Our repeated assertions that our object in seizing Cuba was to enable it to set up a stable government of its own, undoubtedly reached the Filipinos, and were read by them, particularly the declaration of the revered McKinley that any other object would be "criminal aggression." Of course, said they, if the seizure of Cuba would be "criminal aggression," so would the seizure of the Philippines, whose inhabitants are quite as fit for self-government as the Cubans, and have given as serious proofs of dislike to Spanish rule.

We may imagine, therefore, with what astonishment they must have read President McKinley's proclamation to them, a few days ago, through Gen. Otis. It took not the slightest notice of any rights on the part of the people of the islands, except what we were graciously pleased to accord them—no recognition of their long struggle against Spain, no recognition of their long sufferings under her rule, no acknowledgment of their fitness for self-government, not the slightest intimation of any desire on our part to assist them in setting one up. He declared unblushingly that by the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain—not the Filipinos—"the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States," in "fulfilment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired," said the unconscious wag. At the time this document was sent to the Philippines the treaty had not been ratified, hence, for legal purposes, did not exist. The annexation of the islands to the United States was the act of William McKinley solely; the sovereignty, the acquisition of which he announced, was acquired by him solely; the threats of "severity" and "firmness" which he gave forth, were the threats of William McKinley solely.

There was, too, a dreadful obscurity about what they meant. Sent as they were through a military commander, it is fair to suppose that they meant slaughter and the burning of towns belonging to a people who have never injured us, who had never heard of McKinley until a few months ago, and who

would be killed simply for desiring to be free. According to the Hon. Whitelaw Reid's paper, they were to be treated as "children" after fighting for freedom for several generations. The proclamation was modelled on those which Napoleon Bonaparte used to issue to his conquered provinces, and the sole authority Mr. McKinley could show for it, except that of a military commander, was that of crowds at railway stations, and visions or dreams of his own about "Duty" and "Destiny."

It must be a great joy and relief to many to see that his policy is at last beginning to undergo discussion. The debate in the Senate appears to be a revival of the old art of government, as understood by the founders of the Republic. This question of annexation and "glory-crowned heights" is being dragged out of the puddle of sentimentality in which it has been rolling for months. The old question of the Roman military commander, "Quis jussit?"—Who ordered you to do this?—a question which should never be allowed to sleep in a constitutional state for one hour, again begins to be asked. Who has authorized President McKinley to threaten a friendly people with slaughter and devastation if they do not obey him? How did Spain come to be able to transfer islands she did not possess? How did we come to profess sympathy with and offer help to 10,000,000 of people, for their liberation from a hated yoke, while concealing from them the fact that our real intention was to conquer them for our own use and behoof? How did Spain come to have \$20,000,000 worth of islands to sell to us when we had just denied her right to them, by taking them from her by force?

One of the negotiators, Senator Gray, at Wilmington on Saturday, surrounded the whole matter with mystery. He said we "were now in a crisis," and that his "heart was full of anxiety," and that the President had enjoined on him "magnanimity towards a fallen foe." It appears, too, that we have been overtaken by "unexpected conditions." What are these conditions? Why cannot the American people be told what the trouble is? Senator Gray further said:

"Duty cannot honorably be avoided because it may bring pain or danger. Nor can responsibility always be evaded because of its burdens. That I sought in Paris by all honorable means to escape this responsibility does not matter now. It came to a point at last that we must either leave the islands to Spain, take them as we did, or break off negotiations and come home without a treaty of peace. In the last event the cruce would be broken and a state of active war would have been resumed."

But why had war to be renewed? What was the war to be about, if it had been renewed? We had got Cuba and Porto Rico, which was all we claimed at the beginning of the war. We did not need any treaty to give us possession of them. Who was to urge us to begin the war again? Surely not Spain. How was she to fight, and what about? She remained

in a normal state of war with her South American possessions for many years. Why could she not have remained in a similar state of paper war with us?

The root of all this trouble and "anxiety" is that we have been trying to make too big a thing of the whole affair, to figure as great conquerors and "destiny and duty" men in order to exalt somebody's horn, without the slightest occasion. If these great men in Paris had found out what kind of place the Philippines were before they bought them, and found out whether the Spaniards could deliver them, and then had left it to Congress to decide whether an enterprise so opposed to our habits and traditions as their annexation should be entered on at all, all this groaning and "anxiety" might have been avoided. That the President should have entered headlong on such a very Asiatic business as annexing Asiatic provinces, and issuing Asiatic proclamations to conquered peoples who had never acknowledged his rule, without consulting Congress or any representative of the American people except crowds at railway stations, we can only ascribe to the flattery he has been receiving ever since the outbreak of the war. It has not been simply ludicrous; it has been most mischievous. It has not been the flattery offered to a great man in consequence of his exploits, like a book or a victory, but the blind, unreasoning flattery offered to the Sultan or the Shah because he has unlimited power.

OMDURMAN AND HAVANA.

The first thing Kitchener had to do after marching into Omdurman was to march out again. It is a modern city, in the sense of having been entirely built within a dozen years, but the Cloaca Maxima could not have contained more filth or emitted worse stenches than this proud capital of the Khalifa. It was all very well to face a Dervish charge, but reeking Dervish streets and open sewers put the victorious army at once to flight. It had to camp outside until Omdurman could be cleaned into habitable shape. The work has been done by natives under the direction of British officers. One of these, in command of 2,100 Baggaras, recently wrote home: "I am glad to be able to say that we have now so cleansed and civilized Omdurman that we need no longer go about with scented handkerchiefs or revolvers."

There is more than a chance coincidence in the British having to do in an Arab city what we are at the same time having to do in a Spanish city. Havana is not Omdurman, yet the ideas of hygiene and of religion which made either city a pest-hole are not dissimilar. There is, in truth, a clearly marked streak of Orientalism in the Spanish character. It may have come from contact with the Moors for hundreds of years, and from

partial assimilation of Moorish blood and civilization. At any rate, it is a fact that Spaniards, more than the other Latin races, have the true Oriental fatalism which begets indifference to public cleanliness, and teaches submission to the scourge of epidemic disease as to any other chastening instrument in the hands of Allah. Experienced travellers in the East have more than once, on first visiting Spanish-American countries, expressed their surprise at seeing the Orient reproduced there in little. It was like being on the banks of the Euphrates again. Especially in this matter of public filth and public indifference to it have the Havanees, living over their clogged and poisonous cesspools, had a not distant resemblance to the Dervishes sitting upon their muck-heaps in Khartum.

The leading Spanish historian of Cuba, Jacopo de la Pezuela, betrays the true Spanish standpoint in these affairs. In the introduction to his 'Diccionario de la Isla de Cuba' (1863) he speaks of the destructive earthquakes to which Santiago has been subject as "punishments" by Providence, though he rejoices that God "does not display his anger against that part of the island, in so terrible a form, more than two or three times in a century." As for yellow fever and intermittent fevers, Pezuela states that they increase and rage in the rainy season; yet the rains are "one of the wise means which the Creator adopts to relieve the inhabitants from the effects of a burning sun." Hence yellow fever is really only an incidental evil of a beneficent dispensation of Providence, and to resist it or complain of it would be impious.

This theological conception of disease is one which the Teutonic and Protestant world has been slow in outgrowing, if indeed it may be said yet to have outgrown it. Palmerston was thought guilty of irreverence when he told the delegation of clergy, in the terrible cholera year, that he would much rather appoint a day for general cleaning of drains than one for fasting and prayer. The idea so universal in the Middle Ages that every form of personal misfortune, including disease and insanity, was a direct proof of divine displeasure, and an invitation to mend one's morals instead of his personal habits, has by no means disappeared even in what we call progressive communities. But the important difference is that, whatever the lingering superstitions of the people, the health authorities act upon scientific notions. Pray and do penance all you please, they practically say, but first purify your water supply and build tight sewers and kill the germs of disease in clothes and houses.

In the Spanish-American world this overriding of religious theory by scientific practice has never become established. Spaniards are more consistent in their inherited Orientalism than we are

in ours. A good instance of the typical Spanish way of looking at deadly disease was recently made public in Havana. In a single room which was let on one of the main streets, nine men died one after the other of yellow fever. Then the owner stopped renting it. It began to look to him as if the displeasure of Heaven rested on that chamber of death. There was something uncanny about it, and perhaps he had better take it as a sign not to persevere in seeking tenants. He might die of the fever himself next, to bring him to his senses. He would be warned in time. It never occurred to him that there was any direct connection between infected bedding and walls and the series of deaths.

Undoubtedly it is in this mental attitude of the inhabitants of Havana that Gen. Ludlow will find his greatest obstacle to putting the city into a hygienic condition. If people think the rules of the health board are all humbug, if not positively wicked, it will be difficult to make them obey. The temptation to have a little private heap of filth, or to retain a concealed cesspool as a kind of family heirloom, will be strong. In Omdurman, it appears, the British officers went about their work of cleansing with revolvers in their hands—whether to shoot violators of the health ordinances, or to make the scavengers do their work thoroughly, does not appear. Gen. Ludlow cannot do this, nor can he get Baggaras to clean Havana. But if he is given the power and the money, he can certainly work such a transformation in Havana as the British have made in Kingston; and he may know, for the gratification of his professional pride, that he that reduceth the death-rate by 50 per cent. is greater than he that taketh a city.

THE CZAR'S DETAILS.

The Czar's peace proposals, or plans for disarmament, as they were variously called, were necessarily vague in their first outlines. A few salient facts were set forth vividly—the crushing burden of military taxes; the fierce competition of rival Powers in endeavoring first to become the stronger; the rapid supersession of existing armaments by endless new inventions of more deadly weapons and explosives; and the immense drain of war on the vitality and resources of civilized nations. The remedy for all this could not, in the beginning, be definitely laid down. The Czar's first circular letter was necessarily of the nature of a pious aspiration. War was admittedly a horrible and growing evil, and the Czar called upon Christendom to devise some effective measures to lessen it.

This very indefiniteness was promptly seized upon by open apologists or secret lovers of war, who said that disarmament, or any form of mitigating the

awfulness of war, was a beautiful dream, but only a dream. There was no way of translating the heavenly vision into the language of this practical and selfish world. Accordingly they consoled themselves, after the first few days of insincere praise of the Czar's good intentions, by confidently predicting that nothing would ever come of them. Well, the Czar evidently means to make a good fight for peace. He has recognized the element of truth in the assertion that a Congress must have definite proposals before it, and has sent a second circular letter to the Powers suggesting definite bases for discussion. By an exchange of views on these suggestions before the Congress meets, the way will be prepared for useful diplomatic conference.

We are glad to see that the programme put forth is modest. Small beginnings are desirable in so great a movement. Thus, a thorny question is at once ruled out by the notification that "nothing touching existing political relations shall be discussed" in the coming peace congress. In this way one of the greatest difficulties brought up by the opponents of the project is met by ignoring it. How, they have asked, could you get Germany and France to discuss disarmament unless first the question of Alsace and *revanche* were settled? How could you get Great Britain to sit down and debate with Russia and Japan a plan for limiting their navies, unless the whole matter of the territorial carving up of the Orient were first disposed of? It is evident that a too ambitious programme, covering all these points, would be wrecked by fatal objections at the threshold. Let us not aspire to too great things at first, writes Count Muravieff. Passing by the enormous, the perhaps insoluble problems, let us begin with things upon which there is a probability of our usefully agreeing. His circular letter restricts itself, therefore, to various proposals for making war less savage and for keeping down the future growth of armaments, and the burdensome taxes to pay for them, even if there is no present possibility of reducing existing armies and navies.

All this sounds not at all like a dreamer; it is prosaic and practical enough. Especially strong is the appeal which the Czar makes to England, and which her rulers would have great difficulty in refusing, or in justifying themselves to the English people if they did refuse it. The avowed naval policy of Great Britain is to maintain a navy equal to any two which might be brought against it. Mr. Goschen openly explained in the House of Commons that the only reason he asked for increased naval grants was that the increase of the Russian and French fleets made it necessary for England to launch more war-ships. Very well, says the Czar, as if in direct answer to Lord Salisbury's request for a definite policy, I will agree to build no more bat-

tie-ships for a given period, if you will, and if you will meet French and German delegates with mine in Brussels or Copenhagen and get an agreement of that kind entered into by all the great Powers. That, we say, is as definite and direct and practicable a plan as could be asked. It fits known conditions exactly, and the taxpayers of England and France will want to know the reason why it cannot be adopted.

The other proposals contained in Count Muravieff's circular letter relate to new international sanctions for arbitration and to new international agreements intended to lessen the barbarities and sufferings of war. These all seem easily attainable. The terms of the Geneva convention—that is, recognizing the wounded and hospitals and surgeons and nurses as exempt from hostilities of any kind—might readily be extended, with some additions, as the Czar suggests, to naval warfare. The Brussels declarations of 1874 against the use of explosive bullets and bombardments of "open" towns could be expanded to cover other practices. There is more doubt about the Czar's suggestion that higher explosives or more deadly weapons than those now in use should be forbidden. If war must needs be, the right to put as many of the enemy as possible *hors de combat* as quickly as possible can hardly be limited. But, putting aside the more debatable matters, the details which the Czar has now advanced in furtherance of his first general proposal of last summer, show that he is in earnest, and that he is applying himself practically to the business in hand. His new circular letter brings the world distinctly nearer a practical agreement to make war a less constant preoccupation of civilized men, rarer in occurrence, and more humane when it does occur.

COLONIES AND WRITERS.

The French have just found out what is the matter with their colonies. Most of them are confessedly failures, a drain upon the nation instead of a source of strength to it, causes of endless expense and vexation and disappointment. Well, the trouble is that there has been no "literary propaganda" in connection with French colonial projects. Only consider, writes Gaston Deschamps, how inferior the French have been to the English in this respect. Kipling's songs and tales send Anglo-Saxon colonists by the hundred to British possessions every year; but what French poet has sung the glories of conquering the Malagassies, what French novelist has painted the attractions of life in Dakar or Kotonou? Luckily, a beginning of better things has been made. A man has been found who is going to change all that. Gen. Trentinian, Lieutenant-Governor of the French Sudan, has just left Paris, and on his staff he proudly announces that he has ap-

pointed a writer. Yes, and this *écrivain* is going out strictly to *écrire*. He is going not only to study but to "write up" the resources of the French Sudan, and in this way, declares the pleased Deschamps, will Gen. Trentinian "utilize for his colony the immeasurable forces which shape and lead public opinion."

It truly seems a happy inspiration. If there is anything France is "long" of, it is writers. She has no crowding population of peasants or artisans to relieve by colonization, but on the boulevards of Paris alone enough writers could be caught to fit out a thousand colonies, each with its poet or feuilletonist. But we fear they can scarcely be induced to go. They will prefer to stay and go on with their graceful raillery of those who go. M. Alfred Capus, for example, has no more frequent theme for his wit in the *Figaro* than the huge joke of French colonies, the infinite stupidity of the colonist who goes out thinking that the country's distant possessions are intended to be actually cultivated and developed instead of merely an excuse for appointing more prefects and administrators. This is much better fun, besides being easier, than fighting one's way through African swamps and jungles. And what chance would there be, in Madagascar or on the Niger, to experience that keenest of French literary delights—haranguing a mob and marching off with them to demand that somebody be spit upon?

M. Deschamps is unquestionably right, however, in emphasizing the part which English writers have played and still play in English colonization. They are, of course, an effect rather than a cause. They write because there are strong and populous and expanding English colonies; and it is not their literary propaganda which has made the colonies successful, as the French colonies are to be as soon as the proper number of *écrivains* are turned loose on them. But as a means of arousing interest in the colonies, and even of exciting enthusiasm about them, the English poets and storytellers and travellers who have produced so extensive and so excellent a colonial literature have filled a unique rôle. The note of imperialism in English poetry, for example, has been struck with increasing clearness in the past few years. Even the Laureate smites the foe with his tin sword. Mr. Newbolt and a host of lesser imitators of Kipling are all the while striking the imperialistic lyre. This literary tendency both reflects and incites a current political tendency. One has but to recall, in addition, the swarming books of exploration and adventure and description, and the accounts of military expeditions, all relating to English colonies, or to lands soon to be made English colonies, to see how much there is in Gaston Deschamps's contention as respects the English colonizing system.

It is necessary, though naturally pain-

ful to us, to make a distinction here between writers and journalists. "I beg you, my friend," said an old sea-dog of a French Admiral, to whom Deschamps broached his views, "*ne me parlez pas des journalistes!*" They have, indeed, a way of throwing all military men into a rage, which makes their task of describing the glories of shooting natives a difficult one. Kitchener agrees thoroughly with Wolseley in regarding the newspaper correspondent as a deadly enemy. The gentlemen of the press who went with him to Khartum were forced to respect him, but, oh, how they hated him. He would give them no news. He censored or suppressed their dispatches. He treated them as conspirators against the peace and safety of the army. If there was any face-slapping to do, he would attend to it. This is an old tradition in the English army. Wellington hated the slow-coach correspondents of his day. He complained bitterly to the authorities that every officer in his army in Spain who could write, or who had a friend at home who could read, was engaged in sending off letters about the strength and disposition of the army which were sure to get into the newspapers, and so into the hands of the French.

Now what we have to observe is that most of the writers we have had at work on our new colonies are journalists. We cannot see, however, that they have done much to make our colonial system pure and strong. When with the army, they spent their time showing up the incompetence of the officers; and since the peace, they have devoted themselves to blowing up every rumor of differences between military commanders into swollen and portentous stories. We suspect that most of our military authorities could as easily be thrown into a rage by the word "journalist" as was the French Admiral. As for our other writers about the war and our new possessions, it seems to us that they are slightly overdoing it, even in this iterative world. There are those who, after having read a thing first in the dispatches, then in an official report, then heard it lectured about and gossiped over for some months, will shy at the last *réchauffé* of it in a magazine. But we are assured that the sales are simply tremendous, and that is a complete answer. The real comfort, however, is that if it is writers that we need to make our colonies a howling success, we need have no fear. We back our own—either for glory or for "copy"—against the writers of "any nation on earth," as we are now taught to say in all our prayers and speeches and judicial opinions.

INDIA CONVALESCENT.

YALE UNIVERSITY, January 14, 1899.

During the last year India has rested quietly, sloughing off the mottled skin of

plague, famine, and war. After a time there will come another famine, very probably another plague, and, if the hopes of some ardent Anglo-Indians are realized, another war. Doubtless these are all beneficial to the country, and answer the same purpose in India as does the annual overflow of rivers in China, though the latter method of removing the superfluous population is less costly to the state. But from the point of view of a new year's inventory, our interest lies rather in the immediate results of these scourges as shown on the survivors. Some of these results are very curious.

Free speech and freer writing have been the boast of India since the country has become Anglicized. As may be imagined, none welcomed the novel privilege more than they who had been tongue-tied through centuries of oppression. To be allowed to attack Government through virulent speech was a rare joy to those unable to show enmity in overt acts. So, as the plague continued, and the British Rāj began to show signs of weakening and hesitated to continue that stringent policy which, in the first year of the Great Death, had almost overcome the disease, the recalcitrant native felt encouraged to speak. At first he did not venture to talk open treason. The Gujarati dailies, published in the vernacular and in English, praised Government in honeyed speech, and counselled submission to all the strange fads of sanitation and inspection—in English; while in parallel columns the native was urged in his own dialect, which the editors fondly believed no Englishman would read, to evade the outrageous laws newly passed, and be true to the customs of his fathers, or, in other words, to resist all police interference.

No notice was taken of this. But as month after month passed, the language against Government became stronger, till at last the climax came in the inflammatory speeches and editorials of one of the Poona agitators, who, as a warlike Mahratta, dared more than did the double-tongued Gujarati. The final word was spoken by Tilak, a man known in Europe and America as a Sanskrit scholar, in India as a dangerous malcontent. Tilak evidently thought that the time had come to fling aside the mask. In giving a laudation of the Mahratta chieftain-god Shivaji (whom the Mahrattas are just now endeavoring to turn from a dastardly human into a national divine hero), the eminent Sanskritist said in effect: "Down with the British; now is the moment to act. Our people are already inflamed with hatred. They see their social customs disregarded, their religious scruples ignored; they are ready for revolution. Let it come; strike now." He had scarcely spoken when the British were attacked in Poona: an assassin slew an English lieutenant; another officer was gravely wounded. Then the British woke up, applied their usual rule of thumb to the break in the machinery, convicted Tilak of treason, sent him to jail, passed a law that stopped free speech of that nature, and returned to polo and the suppression of plague. The Gujarati editors hastened to say that of course anything treasonable should be suppressed, and only the indomitable Mahrattas continued to snarl a little, though they muffled their tongues, for they saw that the lion had not yet become decrepit.

This, then, has been the direct result of the plague. It remains to be seen whether the new law of treasonable speech will be applied to the members of the Indian Congress, but they, though malcontent enough,

have always been more guarded in their language, and a western Mahratta will rush in where a Bengali Babu fears to tread.

Of the plague itself there is something new to relate. In the first place, few people here know that the plague is now in its third year, and that it raged last year more destructively than in 1896-97. After the first excitement, when interest in the subject began to pall, little was reported in the papers; but though no longer an attractive feature of journalism, the plague quietly persisted, and in its second year slew more than in its first, simply through covering a wider area. While not leaving Bombay, it ran across to Calcutta, and then spread south, so that the whole country has gradually become infected. This winter it seems to be slowly dying out, as did the plague in Athens in its third year. The most interesting fact brought out of late in connection with the disease is that in all probability it came from Kumaon in the Himalayas. Bubonic plague is endemic there, and it has recently been proved that some three hundred pilgrims from Kumaon visited Bombay just before the plague broke out, residing chiefly in those wards of the city afterwards most sorely smitten.

Famine has left little trace in India besides a deepening of ever-present distress. People who have absolutely nothing but their lives to lose are not much affected by famine's aftermath of poverty. This has struck hardest at the tradespeople in the great cities, and at Government, which has suffered severely from the drain on its resources. The peasants themselves, the bulk of the population, are now, with a new year of good crops, as well off as they were before—that is to say, they are diseased, heavily in debt, and generally hungry, their normal condition. Some of the charitably disposed Americans who sent corn to India may be interested to know that the Hindus of the Central Provinces were so much pleased with the new grain that they planted what they could spare, and are now raising crops of Indian maize for the first time. If this cereal can get along without rain for four or five months it may prove a success, but it is rather a pity that the experiment was not tried first in the Punjab, where there is an excellent system of irrigation.

It is somewhat remarkable that plague, famine, earthquake, and war are mentioned by Thucydides as characterizing the same period at Athens, and that these should also have characterized the late distress in India. Plague and famine arrived hand in hand; then came the worst earthquake known in recent years; and before the year 1897 was over occurred the Tirah war, where more fighting was done and more hardships endured than the army of the Sirdar in Egypt could boast of in all its long methodical campaign. But to speak only of the outcome of this expedition, the fancied punishment and consequent suppression of the border tribes have not quite answered expectation. The Mad Mulla has but lately risen again, and where all was supposed to be repressed an active antagonism has again shown itself. To subdue this will, however, be a task of no magnitude. But it is strange that the British are so long in learning their lesson. There is but one thing to do—take the land and hold it, get rid of the nation of "buffer-tribes," and treat the Afridis as the Punjabis were treated. The former too would soon make a better buffer as an integral part of the empire than as a hostile

host of blackmailers. For it is notorious that the only way the British have been able to keep a semblance of order on their north-western trade route is to allow themselves to be regularly blackmailed: so much salary annually to every Afridi blackleg who will abstain from attacking a British caravan.

The little war, as wars are reckoned there, is over; but the war-spirit has been aroused, and advices from India recount its latest manifestation. An officer of the Government has just proclaimed that it is high time to seize Thibet. This extraordinary proposal has created no little excitement. Is it only an absurd suggestion, or is it an untimely revelation, the latest instance of that new diplomacy which consists in blurring out what had better been left unsaid? Time will show. Meanwhile, the superior officers of the audacious speaker are very angry. He has already been reminded that when an officer criticized the Tirah campaign at Simla last summer he was forced to apologize, and was told that no criticism of governmental policy was permissible to a subordinate. Is there no way of stopping the mouths of these indiscreet persons? (they seem to say). But, in its manly directness, the suggestion must rouse envy in the bosom of every American forced to find a philanthropic motive for war and eager for trade. "What are we sitting here for, doing nothing?" queries the indignant official. "We ought not to let our soldiers rust out, now that the Tirah campaign is over. We ought to take Thibet. It would make a capital summer-resort; it would be a defence against possible aggression on the part of Russia; and, finally, they all drink tea up there, and it would open a first-rate market to our Indian teas." Simple, strong, and effective. No altruistic motive is urged. It is not even proposed to Christianize the Thibetans. The British are to ravage the country ("a small army of about 20,000 would suffice," says the eloquent pleader), build sanitariums, and establish a tea-market. After reading so much about our mission abroad, it is refreshing to hear some one talk business and not even mention philanthropy.

WASHBURN HOPKINS.

A MEMOIRIST OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

PARIS, December 28, 1898.

Memoirs on the period of the Second Empire are already beginning to appear, such is the curiosity of our time; but it can be prophesied that they will some day be all the more numerous because there was no liberty of the press under the reign of Napoleon III. For the present, there are but few original documents on that period. We have the Memoirs of Gen. Fleury, who was one of the chief artisans of the *Coup d'Etat* of December 2; the Memoirs of M. de Maupas, the prefect of police. M. Thouvenel has published a part of the Memoirs of his father, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs. We shall probably have the Memoirs of M. Thiers and many others, which will throw some light on the most obscure portions of the second half of our century. The Marquis Philippe de Massa, brother of the present Duke de Massa, descends from Régner, who was made by Napoleon the first Duke de Massa. He has published a volume, 'Souvenirs et Impressions, 1840-1871,' which has met with much success. Philippe de Massa was an officer in the French army, who rose to the rank of *chef*

d'escadron, and became attached to the Emperor Napoleon. He was born at the beginning of the reign of Louis-Philippe, in the paternal house which had belonged to the *grand-juge* Régnier. This hôtel, given to Régnier by the Emperor, was in the Rue de Choiseul near the Boulevard, in a quarter which, at that time, still had gardens.

The recollections of M. de Massa's youth are not without interest. He remembers seeing in the court of the hôtel the fine equipages of Marshal Suchet, of the Countess Duchâtel, of Madame Thiers (M. Thiers was related by marriage to M. de Massa's older brother); the youngmen of fashion made their visits on horseback or in cabriolets. "Society was divided into two camps: on the right bank of the Seine, the Court party was composed of the high bourgeoisie and the financiers, who lived chiefly in the Faubourg St. Honoré and the Chaussée d'Antin; on the left bank, the Legitimist party sulked in its hôtels in the Faubourg St. Germain." M. de Massa remembers well the return of the remains of Napoleon, brought by the Prince de Joinville from St. Helena.

"The men of my generation," he says, "have not forgotten the popularity which this mission gained for the Prince, who justified it so well afterwards before Tangier and Mogador. What I remember, also, with gratitude, is that the Prince, by a delicate attention, distributed some souvenirs of the island to the families for whom such relics were to be the object of profound veneration. My mother, who was lady-in-waiting to the Princesses, his sisters, received from his hands and bequeathed to us a stone from the imperial tomb and a branch of the willow planted over it."

Young Massa enlisted in the spahis in Africa. Each squadron of spahis is recruited in the region. The officers and non-commissioned officers are half French, half African. The soldiers are all Arabs, living near the barracks in family groups (*smalahs*), with their own tents and horses. Massa was incorporated in the squadron of Batna, which was then a small place on the border of the French occupation. Among the officers he found Paul de Molènes, who acquired afterwards some literary reputation by his military stories, and Jules Gérard, the famous lion-killer. There was also a Labédoyère, cousin of the Colonel who was shot under the Restoration. The account given by the young spahi of his life at Batna, his expeditions to Biskra and the oasis, is very interesting. Biskra was then lost in the desert; it has become a winter station nearly as much frequented as Monaco. During one of his expeditions, Massa made the acquaintance of the eldest son of Marshal Ney, the Prince of La Moskowa, a very distinguished man, who was made a peer under the government of Louis-Philippe. After 1848, he devoted himself again entirely to military life, and had come to Africa to obtain the grade of general. He had on his staff Prince Joachim Murat. The Prince de la Moskowa invited Massa to enter his regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, and he had to exchange his turban for a shako and his Arabian saddle for a common saddle. He entered afterwards the regiment of *guides*, formed in 1851 by Col. Fleury. These guides had to perform for Napoleon III. the service performed for Napoleon I. by his former guides, transformed in 1804 into chasseurs of the guard. The regiment did escort duty. Each morning a platoon, in full uniform, went to the Tuilleries, and remained twenty-four hours in the proximity of the château.

The Emperor had an escort in the evening to go to the theatre, and the officer was invariably asked to dinner for the next day. The Emperor was never escorted in the daytime. After the creation of five other regiments of cavalry of the guard, the regiment of guides lost its monopoly of escort duty and of the garrison of Paris.

Massa took part in the campaign in Italy. He was in one of the first regiments which crossed the frontier, and received ovations from the Italian populations. All along the Cornice, now called Côte d'Azur, there was the same enthusiasm. At Vercelli "we remarked a distinguished-looking young Italian officer, who was watching the details of our installation. We began conversation with him, and were struck by the correctness with which he spoke French, without the slightest Italian accent. One of us complimented him. 'I am a Frenchman, like you,' said he; and as we seemed astonished, he simply added: 'My name is Robert d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres.'" M. de Massa gives a very graphic account of his doings in the campaign, and one of the great charms of his souvenirs lies in the fact that he writes with great simplicity, and never attempts to speak of what did not go on under his eyes. He does not pretend to be a strategist or a tactician or a diplomatist, he is a mere witness; and his sentiments are always creditable to him. He felt some humanity even on the battlefield. I have found his account of the battle of Solferino one of the best I ever read.

Many people will be amused by what he has to say of Paris and of the official society under the Second Empire. He had, in 1862, been placed on the staff of General Feray, and he remained in Paris during the brilliant days of the Exposition, living in the society of Madame de Metternich, of the Mornys, the Walewskis, the Persignys, as one of the familiars of the court, and admitted to the select parties at Saint Cloud, at Fontainebleau and Compiègne. This life of gaiety was interrupted by the expedition to Mexico, in which country he remained during eighteen months.

The chapter on Mexico is one of the most interesting in the volume. M. de Massa makes us acquainted in it with Colonel Dupin, an old soldier, who was the commander of the Counter-Guerillas, and who spread terror among the followers of Juárez. He calls him "a man of war and of pleasure, whose robust health made him immune in all climates." Maximilian reproached him for some rather too summary executions, but Colonel Dupin was not directly under his orders. The French army of occupation was commanded by Bazaine, "a soldier of fortune, who had risen from the ranks to the highest grade of the military hierarchy without having ever been a court-officer, and was then at the height of his military reputation." The French corps of 25,000 men, composed of two divisions of infantry and one brigade of cavalry, had to occupy and pacify a country five times as large as France. M. de Massa describes Maximilian as "by turns indecisive and bold, fair, with very expressive eyes and a pale visage." It had been decided in France in 1866, that the evacuation should take place and be ended in the spring of 1867. Maximilian could not rely on his own forces. The relations between him and Bazaine became very difficult; he reproached the French Government with abandoning him;

Bazaine was accused for a moment of aspiring himself to the empire of Mexico.

"Informed of this accusation," says M. de Massa, "he one day opened the subject with me. 'How foolish,' said he. 'When a man has started with the knapsack on his back, and has just been named Marshal of France, what other desire can he have but to return to his country with this?' showing his epaulette adorned with five stars and a cross of two marshal's staffs."

The accusations of the Empress Charlotte against Marshal Bazaine had caused, however, doubts in the mind of Napoleon III., who sent over to Mexico one of his aides-de-camp, General Castelnau, to control the acts of the French commander and to dissuade Maximilian from abdicating. The relations of Castelnau with Bazaine were not agreeable, as may easily be understood. Maximilian saw no solution of the situation if the French troops were withdrawn; but General Miramon set before him the terrible reprisals for which his abdication would be the signal, and Maximilian resolved to remain. On the 5th of February, 1867, Bazaine left Mexico; he met near Puebla Colonel Lopez, who commanded the regiment of the Empress's dragoons.

"The Marshal, who had known Lopez for a long time, stopped him, and this, textually, is what he said to him before us: 'Lopez, you were one of the first to rally to the French intervention, and you were near me at the attack of San Lorenzo. Since I have appointed you officer of the Legion of Honor, and the Emperor has covered you with favors, I hope that you will faithfully defend his cause, and, if necessary, that you will give your life for him.' 'Yes, Marshal,' answered the man, who, a few weeks afterwards, betrayed his sovereign at Querétaro, as he had before betrayed his country under the walls of Puebla."

On the 12th of March, Marshal Bazaine embarked with the rear-guard on the *Souverain*. M. de Massa tells us that the news of the battle of Sadowa, which reached Bazaine in Mexico, made him very anxious to precipitate the evacuation. Foreseeing that the French army would some day have to measure itself with the hereditary enemy which had attained such a terrific success over as brave an army as the Austrian, Bazaine said to Massa: "These people must be very strong to have swallowed so easily such a big morsel. France has not a moment to lose to place herself in a state of defence and to increase her forces." Singular and prophetic words in the mouth of one who had to play afterwards the principal part in the German war, and whose name was to become synonymous with the name of traitor.

M. de Massa was named equerry to the Emperor in February, 1870, on the very day of the plebiscite which gave the Empire 7,300,000 votes against 1,500,000. The effervescence produced by the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne began soon afterwards. M. de Massa is convinced that, far from desiring the war for dynastic ends, the Emperor resigned himself to it under the pressure of public opinion. "Such," he says, "was the conviction also of those who had the painful honor to follow Napoleon to the Army of the Rhine, and who witnessed the physical and moral sufferings which he had to bear on that *Via Crucis* of which Metz was the first station and Sedan the Calvary." He forgets to add that on the 2d of December the Emperor assumed absolute power; that he put an end to ministerial responsibility and to the supremacy of Parliament; that he always proclaimed him-

self alone responsible to the country, and that it is no excuse for him to say that he obeyed public opinion; all the more because it is very doubtful if public opinion, taken in the widest sense, was in favor of war. The military party and the court party undoubtedly were, but the country, though it felt some alarm after Sadowa, would have preferred peace and some sort of understanding with Prussia.

M. de Massa's account of the war of 1870 is painfully interesting; it has a special value inasmuch as he accompanied the Emperor from the beginning to the day when Napoleon surrendered at Sedan. M. de Massa represents Napoleon as a sort of victim, needing every day the special care of his surgeons, incapable of any prolonged physical effort; reduced to being one of the impedimenta of the army. The final chapter of M. de Massa's souvenirs is no less interesting. He made, on the staff of Gen. Bourbaki, the campaign in the east of France which ended in the retreat into Swiss territory, through the Jura Mountains.

I repeat, in closing, that these souvenirs have the merit of perfect simplicity and sincerity, and, as such, may be considered an historical document of some value, especially in what concerns the Mexican war and the Franco-German war.

Correspondence.

THE LOUISIANA AND TEXAS "PRECEDENTS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The imperialists refer to the objections that were urged against the purchase of Louisiana and the annexation of Texas as proof of the fallacy of the arguments against annexing the Philippines. The application of a precedent depends upon the reasons on which it rested. The cases of Louisiana and Texas are not parallel, and furnish no rule to guide us now; they would equally justify us in sending a fleet to the Dardanelles and seizing Constantinople. It is true that we have no quarrel with the Turk; but it is easy enough to have one if we want it—our war with Spain is a case in point. The opposition of the Federalists in Congress to the Louisiana treaty was purely partisan; they had dwindled to an insignificant minority, and no doubt would have voted to ratify it if their votes had been necessary. They pretended to oppose it on constitutional grounds. The same men the year before wanted to seize New Orleans and risk a war because the right to deposit Western produce in transit at New Orleans had been suspended, and the mouth of the Mississippi closed as an outlet to our commerce. They demanded possession of the key to the Gulf. The motive was not territorial expansion, but self-preservation—to utilize what we had by securing a right of way to the sea. There were no railroads then. The West was in a state of blockade. The real object of Jefferson's negotiation was the free navigation of the Mississippi to the Gulf. He only wanted a narrow strip of land on its eastern bank as a means to this end. The purchase of the vast domain of Louisiana was not even a dream, and the minister who bought it exceeded his instructions.

Jefferson was not an expansionist *per se*. He came into power on the theory of a

strict construction of the Constitution, and did not think it gave him any authority to acquire territory. He said that the treaty made blank paper of the Constitution, and prepared an amendment confirming the purchase. Party pressure compelled him to pocket his scruples. Chief Justice Marshall very truly said that Jefferson broke up the Federal party by adopting its principles. In a letter to Tom Paine, Jefferson said:

"On the 10th inst. I wrote you on the subject of Louisiana, and mentioned the question of a supplement to the Constitution on that account. A letter recd yesterday renders it prudent to say nothing on that subject, but to do *sub silentio* what shall be found necessary. That part of my letter therefore be so good as to consider as confidential."

All of which meant that their consciences must sleep until the treaty was ratified. It was feared that the bargain might be lost by delay; an extra session of Congress was called to ratify the treaty and provide for executing it. In a letter to Livingston, who negotiated it, Jefferson said: "Your treaty has obtained nearly general approbation. The Federalists spoke and voted against it; but they are so reduced in their numbers as to be nothing." The Federalists taunted the Republicans with their own arguments against the use of implied powers. It is one of the revenges of history that Jefferson should have dealt the deathblow to strict construction. The irony of Fate placed Breckinridge—the reputed author of the Kentucky Resolutions of '99—and John Taylor, who had offered Madison's Resolutions of '98 in the Virginia Legislature, where they had either to sacrifice their theories or the treaty. They supported the treaty. It was a bitter pill to swallow.

I have said that the negotiation was begun to secure commercial freedom, and not the extension of territorial boundaries. The instructions to Livingston, the American Minister, contemplated nothing more. Writing to Livingston, Madison said, "The object of the most sanguine was limited to the Mississippi as our boundary"; and Livingston, writing to Madison, said, "Talleyrand asked me this day, when pressing the subject, whether we wished to have the whole of Louisiana. I told him, no; that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas." He told Talleyrand that this territory was important to the United States only because "it contained the mouths of our rivers." Talleyrand astonished Livingston by asking, "What will you give for the whole?" This was during the peace of Amlens; Bonaparte was First Consul. He was about to declare war against England, and knew by experience that colonies were a weak point in war. After a struggle with an insurrection in San Domingo, similar to Aguinaldo's in the Philippines, he had abandoned the island to the negroes. He could not spare a sufficient force to guard Louisiana and prevent the English from capturing it; so he got rid of a burden by selling it. We propose to relieve Spain of a burden by buying it. The First Consul said to Marbois, "I renounce it with the greatest regret; to attempt obstinately to hold it would be folly." The example for us to follow as to the Philippines is Napoleon's in getting rid of colonies that were only an encumbrance. If we acquire the Philippines, the first problem for us to solve will be the same that confronted Jefferson: How shall we govern them? The first act for the government of Louisiana, as drafted

by Jefferson himself, invested the President with all the despotic power of the Spanish kings. It was to be in force three years, but Congress reduced it to one. John Randolph reported the bill. By transubstantiation the great democrat became an autocrat. The act violated every principle of civil liberty. Jefferson justified it on the ground that the Creoles were children. It will require about 2,000 years to educate the Malays up to our standard of citizenship. Thomas H. Benton, speaking of the Louisiana Act, said, "Nothing could be more incompatible with our Constitution than such a government—a mere emanation of Spanish despotism," etc. The President took the place of the King. If such an extreme measure was necessary to govern Creoles, what will be required to govern 2,000 islands 7,000 miles away inhabited by a race of barbarians?

As for Texas, those who opposed annexation did not want to annex a war, or were opposed to the extension of slavery. But the population of Texas was American.

The Senate is now in the position of the great pro-consul of Gaul when he reached the frontier stream that marked the constitutional boundary of his province. Will it cross the Rubicon and enact the rôle of the Triumvirates when they divided out the Roman world?

JOHN S. MOSBY.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 10, 1899.

MISSIONARIES RATHER THAN SOLDIERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is complained that those opposed to expansion have no programme. I am earnestly opposed to expansion. Perhaps it would be better for the Filipinos if we regulated their affairs for them. Probably the heathen within our land would profit by adoption into comfortable homes—to the discomfort of the homes. Our first duty is to our own country, and not only is the expense of the necessary increase in army and navy a menace to our comfort and works of civilization, but far graver is the menace to the character of our institutions and people, especially to those of our people who would, by contact with subject races, lose democratic habits of thought.

Therefore I suggest the following programme: Not to buy the Philippines from Spain. To spend the twenty millions so saved in sending missionaries to the islands. We should thus save money, avoid political corruption, protect the character of our young men. At the same time the spirit of philanthropy is observed. Surely missionaries are better for the heathen than soldiers. To be sure, some of the missionaries may meet death, but this must have been the prospect for some of the soldiers; and the missionaries have, probably, the advantage in preparation for such a catastrophe. We should not unwarrantably interfere with religious liberty. Our modern missionary, I am told, first makes a man of the prospective convert by education and the inculcation of the arts of civilization. After this process, the "native" is really freer, for he is more capable of deciding between the claims of his own and the missionary's belief.

Very truly yours, A. B. H.

WENTZVILLE, MO., January 12, 1899.

JUDGE TANEY AND BLACK RIGHTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I ask of the well-known fairness of the *Nation* permission to protest against a misleading (I am sure not intentionally misleading) statement in your last issue?

You say that "Justice Taney held that, historically, men of this color [negroes] had no rights that white men like us were bound to respect." The old mendacity that Taney had laid it down as the opinion of the Supreme Court that negroes had no rights which white men were bound to respect, has, I suppose, outlived its usefulness, nor do I charge the *Nation* with it. But those of your readers who have been brought up on it, will understand your phrase to mean that Taney held that history justified such a view of the relations. Whereas Taney did not go at all into the question of the right or wrong of slavery; that question was not before his court. The question before him was whether a negro slave could bring his case before a United States Court; in other words, was the plaintiff a citizen of the United States, as required by the Constitution?

To decide this he examined, as was his duty, what was the status of slaves at the time the Constitution was made, in order to discover whether they could, at the time of its framing, have been considered citizens of the United States. I cite his own words, which I beg you will reprint:

"It is difficult at this day to realize the state of public opinion, in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken.

"They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

He then proceeds to show from colonial and early State laws, that this opinion of the inferiority of the negro race was universal at the time the Constitution was framed, nor were they anywhere considered citizens. The question what rights, legal or moral, negro slaves possessed in 1856, was not touched by him, beyond the single issue whether they could sue in a United States Circuit Court.—I am, sir, etc.,

WM. HAND BROWNE.

BALTIMORE, January 12, 1899.

[Our expression was curt, but was intended to forestall precisely this criticism.—ED. NATION.]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AND THE LEGISLATURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of December 22, 1898, one who signs himself "A Californian" made certain statements to the effect that "politics played an important factor" in the University of California, and reflecting on the President, professors, and Regents of that University, and the Hon. Julius Kahn, Congressman-elect from the Fourth District of California. The fact that the author chose to remain anonymous, that his letter is dated so late as December 7, 1898, the flimsiness

and falsity of most of his statements, the high character of the Regents, President, and professors of the University, and of the Hon. Julius Kahn, and his election by over 2,000 Republican majority in a district which, at the previous Congressional election, gave over 8,000 Democratic majority, and the general bitterness and plain animosity of the "Californian," all show that his letter to the *Nation* neither needs nor deserves a reply; and it would not have received one but for the fact that the publication was permitted to appear in so influential and, generally, so just a paper as the *Nation*.

Permit me, as one of the Regents of the University of California, in justice to all concerned, to state the facts:

Prior to 1887, the University of California was dependent largely on biennial appropriations by the Legislature, the annoyance of which was so great that a bill was passed in that year giving to the University the proceeds of a tax of one cent on each \$100 of the taxable wealth of the State. From 1887 to 1897 the University received no appropriations from the Legislature, while in that ten years the student body had increased five-fold, necessitating, of course, greater appropriations. The legislative committee of the Board of Regents concluded to ask the Legislature for an additional tax of one cent on each \$100.

The University of California has charge of certain commissions, also, such as those of Viticulture, Forestry, and the like, which require legislation; and sometimes measures hostile to the University's interests are introduced in the Legislature. These interests were so important, so vital to the University's existence, that it was felt by the Board of Regents that some one should be at the capital constantly, to further and protect them. Members of the legislative committee of the Board of Regents at the Legislature soon found themselves fearful of the responsibility, because of their ignorance of legislative procedure and methods, and their lack of acquaintance with the members of the Legislature, and, upon their return from Sacramento, the Regents were called together and informed of all the facts which they thought necessitated the constant presence of some one familiar with the University, and also with legislative procedure, who could remain at Sacramento during the entire session.

The Secretary of the University was too aged and too ill, and the attorney of the Regents was away. Our choice, therefore, fell on the Hon. Julius Kahn. He was not a member of the Legislature, but had been a member four years before, and had distinguished himself by coming from the Legislature with a reputation for ability and tact equal to any, and for honesty and integrity that nobody ever questioned, except the "Californian" who wrote the letter of December 7, 1898. The Governor of the State, even in the heat of a bitter campaign, never dreamed of questioning the honesty of Mr. Kahn.

Mr. Kahn remained at the Legislature during its entire session, and he succeeded, with the aid of many other friends of the University, in securing the passage of the bill granting to the affiliated colleges of the University \$250,000 for the buildings, and in passing the one-cent tax bill through the houses of the Legislature without a dissenting vote, and in obtaining the passage of the appropriation for Forestry, Viticulture, etc., and

two other bills of great importance to the University; being constantly employed from January 15 to March 16, 1897. He aided in enlisting the services of all the graduates of the University throughout this State, caused pamphlets and circulars of information concerning the University to be prepared and given publicly, and for his services, including the travelling and other expenses of himself and all those who aided him, such as telegraphing, printing, postage, telephoning, etc., and including the expenses of the Regents and the President and professors in this behalf, he was allowed \$2,500, of which sum he paid out for expenses over \$1,500, receiving thus \$1,000 for his labor. And his bills were paid without a dissenting vote in the Board of Regents, which body consists of twenty-three members, sixteen of whom are appointed by the Governor for a period of sixteen years each, and are among the best representative citizens in this State, and seven of whom are ex-officio Regents, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, President of the University, President of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, and the President of the State Agricultural Societies.

As to the lobbying by the President of the University, the Regents and professors, etc., this statement is simply untrue. These persons went to Sacramento only at the request of the Committees of the Legislature on Ways and Means and on Public Buildings, when they were requested to come before such committees to explain the purpose and necessity of the appropriations asked for.

As to the University being in politics, that statement is not true. The act creating the University, and now a part of the Constitution of the State, provides that the University shall be kept for ever free from political influence, and it has been so kept; and of the sixteen appointed Regents, that eight shall be Republican and eight Democratic, and no Governor of this State has ever violated this provision.

In the interest of that justice which the *Nation* has always been willing to show, I ask that you publish this letter at your earliest opportunity, in the same columns which have been abused by the publication of December 22, 1898.—Yours respectfully,

J. B. REINSTEIN.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 6, 1899.

ROSTAND'S ANACHRONISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A rather curious anachronism occurs in scene 6, act v., of "Cyrano de Bergerac";

Rageneau (à travers ses larmes). Je suis moucheur de—de—chandelles, chez Molière.

Cyrano. Molière!

Rageneau. Mais je veux le quitter, dès demain; Oui, je suis indigné! . . . Hier, on jouait Scapin, Et j'ai vu qu'il vous a pris une scène!

Le Bret. Entière!
Rageneau. Oui, monsieur, le fameux "Que diable allait-il faire?"

"Les Fourberies de Scapin," wherein occurs the famous "Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère," was not produced until 1671, twenty-one years after the date of the fifth act of "Cyrano de Bergerac."

It isn't of any great importance. Perhaps it is too much like many of the trivialities critics make so much of in dealing especially with Shakspeare's dramas. Still, it is probably barely worth calling attention to for the purpose of asking, if I am right, how one

who has evidently bestowed so much pains upon his work, who has so elaborated, so condensed, so clarified, his delightful, picturesque, and humorous drama—for a French play, so deliciously pure withal—could have overlooked what is so obvious. That it was not done without knowledge is fairly certain.

H. M. DOAK.

NASHVILLE, TENN., January 4, 1899.

[Cyrano's death (act v., scene 5) occurred in 1655, or sixteen—not twenty—years before the representation of the "Fourberies de Scapin" on May 24, 1671. "Le Pédant Joué," from which Molière is said to have taken a scene, was played in 1654, though alleged to have been composed much earlier.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

The Macmillan Co.'s spring announcements embrace a 'Life of Henry A. Wise,' by his grandson, Barton H. Wise; 'The Life and Letters of Archbishop Benson,' edited by his son; 'Cardinal Newman as Anglican and Catholic,' together with correspondence, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell; 'The Life and Remains of Rev. R. H. Quick,' by F. Storr; 'Spinoza, his Life and Philosophy,' by Sir Frederick Pollock; a 'Syllabus of European History, with bibliographies, 1600-1890,' by Prof. H. Morse Stephens of Cornell; 'The Roman History of Appian of Alexandria,' translated from the Greek by Horace White; 'A History of Greece,' for high schools and academies, by George Willis Botsford of Harvard; 'European History: An Outline of its Development,' by Prof. Geo. B. Adams of Yale; 'The Welsh People: Their Origin, Language, and History,' by Prof. John Rhys; 'Via Crucis,' a romance of the second crusade, by F. Marion Crawford; 'Letters from Japan,' by Mrs. Hugh Fraser; 'An Introduction to the Poetical and Prose Works of John Milton,' by Prof. Hiram Corson of Cornell; 'Three Studies in Literature,' Jeffrey, Newman, and Matthew Arnold, by Prof. Lewis Edward Gates of Harvard; 'A Selection of Poems for School Reading,' by Marcus White; 'Chaucer's Prologue and the Knight's Tale,' edited by Prof. Mark H. Liddell of the University of Texas; 'Introduction to the Study of Literature,' by Prof. Edwin Herbert Lewis of the University of Chicago; 'The Development of English Thought: A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History,' by Prof. Simon N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania; 'A Brief Introduction to Modern Philosophy,' by Arthur Kenyon Rogers of the University of Chicago; 'Naturalism and Agnosticism,' the Gifford Lectures (Cambridge, Eng.) delivered in 1895-1896 by Prof. James Ward; 'Democracy and Empire,' by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia; 'Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties,' from the French of M. Ostrogorski, by Frederick Clarke; 'The Distribution of Wealth,' by Prof. John B. Clark of Columbia; 'The Lesson of Popular Government,' by Gamaliel Bradford; 'The Government of Municipalities,' by Dorman B. Eaton; 'The Theory of the Leisure Class,' by Thorstein B. Veblen; an American edition of the 'Statesman's Year-book,' edited for what relates to this country by Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor; 'The Missing Link,' *Pithecanthropus erectus*, Haeckel's lecture

before the Zoölogical Congress at Cambridge in 1898; 'The Dawn of Reason: Mental Traits in the Lower Animals, with special reference to Insects,' by James Weir, Jr., M.D.; 'A History of Physics,' by Prof. Florian Cajori; and 'The Foundations of Zoölogy,' by Prof. William Keith Brooks of Johns Hopkins.

'Democracy: A Study of Government,' by Prof. James H. Hyslop of Columbia; 'The Porto Rico of To-day: Pages from a Correspondent's Note-book,' by Albert Gardner Robinson; 'A General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture,' by Dr. Charles A. Briggs; 'The Kingdom,' by Dr. George Dana Boardman; 'The Bases of Mystic Knowledge,' from the French, by Sara Carr Upton; and 'A Short History of Astronomy,' by Arthur Berry, will be issued directly by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Century Co. will publish next month 'The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll,' by his nephew, S. D. Collingwood, with 100 illustrations; 'The Maine,' a narrative of her destruction, by Capt. Sigbee; and 'Campaigning in Cuba,' the capture of Santiago, by George Kennan.

Henry Holt & Co. have nearly ready 'French Lyrics,' some 230 poems selected from more than 50 poets by Prof. Arthur G. Canfield of the University of Kansas.

The second volume of 'Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions,' by the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., is promised in the spring by Fleming H. Revell Company.

Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., Boston, will publish early in February 'The Student's Book of Days and Birthdays.' It will contain, in addition to the usual blank pages for names, the birthdays of eminent men and women, Founders' days and Presidents' birthdays for the leading colleges, and brief selections in prose and poetry.

William Andrews & Co., Hull, England, will shortly publish 'Bygone Church Life in Scotland,' by the senior member of the firm.

'How to Prepare for a Civil-Service Examination' (Hinds & Noble), by Francis E. Leupp, is an exceedingly practical and direct book. After a clear exposition of what the Government classified service now is, it sets forth the qualifications required in candidates, and gives many examples of the actual papers set before applicants in recent examinations. The volume thus serves an excellent purpose, not only in the way of useful guidance to those intending to take the examinations, but also in dissipating the misleading accounts of their nature spread abroad by the opposition to the reform, and in proving once more how firm a hold the new methods now have in law and practice.

The Scribners publish the American edition of Alexander Innis Shand's 'War in the Peninsula, 1808-1814,' in a single handy volume. Mr. Shand is already known by his 'Life of General Sir Edward Hamley,' and in this new book offers what is, in the main, an abridgment of Napier's great work. The portraits of Wellington, Moore, Masséna, and Soult are on copper, after well-known paintings. The maps are few but clear. The author refers to some of the later published authorities, like Marbot, but the chief use of the book will be in its character as a synopsis of Napier, in the form of a brief current story of the Portuguese and Spanish war with France. There is occasionally a slip in the paraphrasing. At the battle of Sauron (July 28, 1813), after

repeating the story of Wellington and Soult in near presence on opposite heights, when the Englishman, praising Soult's abilities, said he would still beat him by practising on his caution and getting time for Hill to come up, the author says, "So it proved. The French attack was only begun at noon." Soult turned the left of Wellington's principal body, but Hill, coming on the field, rolled back the assault and turned danger into victory. "It was a repetition of the stroke made by Soult at Salamanca," adds the author. Napier's words are: "It was the counterstroke of Salamanca"; but that was Wellington's own counterstroke upon Marmont. Soult, of course, was not there. But there is an error also in the time. Napier puts the scene of the two generals on the heights on the 27th, and says, "Certain it is that the French general made no serious attack that day." He describes Hill's hard march on the 27th, resumed at day-break of the 28th, coming at the nick of time, when "about midday" the French attack began. It was a delay of more than a full day that was gained, not of part of a morning, and it brought the battle, as Napier tells us, "on the fourth anniversary of the battle of Talavera." We have here an instructive example of the way errors of transcription creep into history, and of the safety in reading the sources.

We called attention on its appearance to the autobiography of the Italian Gen. E. della Rocca, an intimate personal friend of Victor Emmanuel and for over seventy years a participator in or witness of the transformation of Italy into a free kingdom. He died in 1897, at the age of ninety. A few years before his death he finished dictating to his wife the second volume of his memoirs, 'Autobiografia di un Veterano' (Bologna: Zanichelli), which has just been brought out in English by Macmillan. It covers the period 1859-1893. For readers who welcome side-lights on recent Italian history, and for libraries which keep such material up to date, mention should also be made of the second volume of 'Giacomo Dina e l'Opera Sua' (Turin: Roux, Frassati & Co.), edited by that model editor, Senator Luigi Chiala. It comprises the chief work of Dina from the death of Cavour through the war of 1866; and as Dina was in the confidence of Cavour's ablest successors, his utterances in political matters have often a quasi-official importance. Senator Chiala's notes and running commentary need no bush.

M. René Doumic sends out another volume of criticism, the third of his series of 'Études sur la Littérature Française' (Paris: Perrin & Cie.), in which he exhibits even more than usually the strong influence exercised on his mind and point of view by his master and editor-in-chief, M. Brunetière. The singular preference for all that is seventeenth century, to the almost total exclusion of whatever belongs to another age, is very strongly marked in the essays or articles contained in the present volume. Hugo and the Naturalistic school are equally ground to powder by Brunetière's disciple, and that with a vivacity and a fierceness of which M. Biré might almost be envious. One cannot help the reflection that M. Doumic is somewhat narrow-minded, and too uncompromising in his condemnation of theories and practices not in accord with his classical creed. But the articles are witty and well written, the reflections in many cases just, and the conclusions and judgments well put.

'L'Anarchie Littéraire,' by Charles Recolin (Paris: Perrin & Cie.), should have been noticed earlier, but it contains papers which bear rereading and consequently late noticing. There are some good criticisms of writers and critics (for the latter are very fond nowadays of giving their impressions and opinions of each other's work), and two or three interesting attempts to analyze the peculiar power of the Russian Realists and of Ibsen, who decidedly does not gain in favor with the French. The title of the book is apt, and is justified by the author in his entertaining preface.

The recent official report of M. Édouard Petit on the condition of common-school extension in France (published by the Imprimerie Nationale) shows us the people of that country from a different and far more favorable side than that presented in the newspaper accounts of the doings of Paris politicians. The progress of the various movements for spreading popular education which are carried forward largely by private enterprise and devotion, is truly astonishing, and unequalled in any other country. Only one or two statistical data can be here given: The number of classes for adolescents and adults rose from 8,288 in 1894-95, to 30,368, with a steady attendance of nearly half a million young people, in 1897-98. In the first-mentioned year the classes for girls were less than a thousand; in the three following years there were provided, respectively, in round numbers, 1,800, 4,400, 7,400 classes. About 10,400 public lectures, illustrated or other, were given in the former year, while in 1897-98 their number had risen to nearly 118,000, with an attendance of not far from three and one-half millions. During the latter year, 18,000 sets of lantern-slides were loaned by the Musée Pédagogique alone, but there are two or three other institutions which render a similar service to the lecture committees throughout the country; and the public lectures and courses for adolescents are only two of the several provisions for the extension of popular education.

The reply of the Department of Public Instruction (Freiburg i. S.; B. Veith) to the memorial of the eight German professors whose exodus from Freiburg has been referred to in these columns, will not be the last word on the subject. The eight have prepared an answer to the reply, which is being published by the Akademischer Verlag, Munich, under the title: 'Herr Python und die Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz.'

The representations for school-children in German theatres have awakened some interest among educators in this country. We therefore call attention to a little brochure in which the experiences and results of last year's representations in Hamburg are related from various points of view, including that of the actors and actresses: 'Unsere Volksschüler im Stadttheater' (Hamburg: C. Boysen). In November last "Wilhelm Tell" was again given before 8,000 children (in three sections), to be followed during the rest of the winter by Körner's "Zriny" and Hebbel's "Nibelungen."

It is not half a dozen years since Prof. Budde of the University of Strassburg—who in recent months has been delivering a course of lectures at Union, Yale, and other American institutions—in a review of an English work, declared that the Germans had every reason to envy the English-speaking theological world for the ease and facility with which, both in Great Britain and in Ame-

rica, the results of critical scholarship could be popularized. A number of recent literary ventures in the Fatherland show that the Germans have been apt pupils of English precedents in this respect, and that they too can prevent the results of scholarly research from remaining a *terra incognita* to cultured readers. The example of the Württemberg Bible Society, in producing a critical edition of the New Testament Greek text, prepared by Prof. Nestle, but based on Westcott-Hort and Tischendorf, at the nominal price of 35 cents, is all the more commendable because this edition is evidently destined to crowd out the current but thoroughly unreliable *textus receptus* of two centuries ago still published by the British and other Bible societies, and popular only because it is so cheap. The new move of the Württemberg Bible Society is proving to be an eminent success, and at the recent annual convention of the association it was reported that the entire first edition of the Nestle Testament of ten thousand copies had been entirely exhausted, and that a new edition was in preparation. Even the most poverty-stricken student of the New Testament can now own the very best text extant.

The *American Historical Review* for January (Macmillan) contrives to keep in touch with current interests by means of a paper, based on much research, by Frank Strong, on "The Causes of Cromwell's West Indian Expedition in 1655," and the influence which New Englanders such as John Cotton and Roger Williams had "in helping Cromwell to make up his mind in regard to it." Among the "Documents," also, we find several bearing on the expedition against Santiago de Cuba in 1741, which landed in the bay of Guantánamo. One, endorsed "Some Thoughts relating to our Conquests in America," contains this suggestive passage: "Admitting us in quiet possession of all Spanish America. To keep that possession we must do as the Spanish have done before us, we must have strong garrisons and Colonies. This will estrange our hands and treasure, and we shall soon be in a worse condition than the Spanish themselves." Of still greater moment is Prof. H. Morse Stephen's brief but clear "Administrative History of the British Dependencies in the Further East," a remarkable tale of flexible adjustment to varying conditions of colonial acquisition. A series of letters addressed from the South in 1861 to Secretary Chase, certain of them being special reports on request, will be found instructive reading.

The *National Geographic Magazine* for December contains a brief sketch of the five civilized tribes of Indian Territory, by C. H. Fitch. In it he refers to a fact, which to some will be new, that the numerous towns which have sprung up along the seven railroad lines in the Territory "are without legal existence, and have no recognized town or city government. They are without proper officers to enforce laws, have no water supply or fire departments, sidewalks, or other street improvements, no schools, except private ones, and no systems of drainage or sewerage." Other articles are on the cloud scenery of the High Plains, Kansas, with photographs, and on the Atlantic Coast tides by M. S. W. Jefferson. There is also an extract from an interesting address at Tokyo, by Dr. Alex. G. Bell, in which he said that the geographical formation of Japan—"long ranges of lofty mountains with comparatively narrow plains lying between their

feet and the coast line"—indicated that it should be the "very home of electrical enterprise." He urged the importance of educating the twenty-five thousand deaf-mutes in the country, for whom there are only two schools at present, one in Kyoto and one in Tokyo.

The Cabot celebration at Halifax in June, 1897, was the occasion of several papers which appear in the latest volume of the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. The account of the ceremonies at the unveiling of the tablet in honor of John Cabot includes addresses on Cabot's Landfall, by Archbishop O'Brien, President of the Society; on Modern Bristol, by W. Howell Davies; and on Bristol in the days of the Cabots, by W. R. Barker. There are also articles on the voyages of the Cabots—Latest Phases of the Controversy, with maps, by Dr. Samuel E. Dawson; the Cabotian Discovery, by John B. Thacher; and the Cabot Legends. Other papers are, "Canada during the Victorian Era," with numerous illustrations, by Sir J. G. Bourinot; "Monograph of the Cartography of New Brunswick," with reproductions of several ancient maps, by Dr. William F. Ganong; and "On the genus *Lepidophlois*," by Sir J. William Dawson.

Dr. S. C. Chandler of Cambridge, Mass., by reason of "the splendor, the importance, and the variety" of his work in astronomical science, has been awarded the Lalande prize of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of France. In the current number of the weekly *Comptes Rendus* of the Academy, the committee of award, consisting of Messrs. Faye, Wolf, Loewy, and Janssen, briefly review Dr. Chandler's more noteworthy achievements. His name is most widely known in connection with the problem of the variation of latitude, into which he was one of the first to inquire and toward the elucidation of which he has done so much. His observations of variable stars, extending over many years, have resulted in the discovery of many variables of short period, while the series of catalogues of variable stars published by him constitute contributions of the greatest value to stellar astronomy. His investigations concerning the identity of comet 1889, V (Brooks) with Lexell's comet are mentioned as illustrating his capability in other directions. The Academy has also conferred the Damoiseau prize upon Dr. George William Hill of Washington, for his researches in mathematics and astronomy, which are, as is well known, characterized by great profundity and novelty of ideas, and have contributed powerfully to the advancement of science during the past twenty years. A third American, Dr. Charles A. Schott of Washington, has been made the recipient of the Henry Wilde prize for his researches in terrestrial magnetism.

It is announced that the competitive examinations for the fellowships of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens will be held this year on March 16, 17, and 18. Candidates are to enter their names on or before February 1 with Prof. B. I. Wheeler (Ithaca, N. Y.), chairman of fellowship committee, from whom all information as to place, subjects, etc., may be obtained. These fellowships yield \$600 each. The Hopkin fellowship, open to women only, yields \$1,000, and is assigned without examination, preference being given, however, to such persons as have already held a regular competitive fellowship.

—It is perhaps natural to look for a rampant plea for annexation of new territory from the Public Land Office, for an extension of possessions means so much land at a stated price, with wood and swamp rights. Mr. Binger Hermann, Commissioner of the General Land Office, has issued such a plea, as a public document, and disguised as an historical essay intended to correct an error in the map of the United States. This error lies in the statement of facts connected with the acquisition of the extreme northwest part of the United States. It has been assumed that it was through the Louisiana purchase that this territory was acquired. No, says Mr. Hermann; it became ours by "right of discovery in 1792"; by exploration in 1805; by the Astoria settlement of 1811; and by the Florida treaty of 1819. We cannot trace any mention of former historical labors of Mr. Hermann, and are obliged to judge him by this expansion pamphlet, issued at the public expense. His conclusions are endorsed by the Hon. C. N. Bliss, whose claims as a historian rest on his well-known biography or characterization of the Hon. T. C. Platt. There are sundry maps, and certain portraits used "by courtesy of — Magazine," though much better could have been found in the Library of Congress. Though the question turns on a question of boundaries, in which the degrees of latitude play an important part, the one map, used as a frontispiece, is without any degrees of latitude. The whole essay is marked by a dangerous ignorance, expressed in language better suited for a stump speech than for historical exposition.

—The pamphlet might be passed over were it not that these two eminent historians have carried their theory so far as to engrave it on the official Land Office map, the best and most widely distributed of maps of the United States. Wherever this map goes, there will go the ridiculous legend stamped on it by Hermann and Bliss, and every school child seeing it will obtain a false idea of our history. A mere reading of the inscription is sufficient to arouse criticism. If this territory was ours by discovery in 1792, and was actually settled on our behalf in 1811, where was the necessity for obtaining it by negotiation in 1819? Discovery alone constitutes a good title, and could not the English urge Cook's discoveries as antedating that of Gray? Spain claimed all this western region by right of discovery, and in 1790 prepared to defend her rights by force, when England landed settlers at Nootka Sound. Hermann says our claim was good against England, but not against Spain. If so, the discovery and settlement go for naught, and it was the treaty of 1819 that alone establishes our right to hold the territory. All else is irrelevant and confusing. Before making the change based upon his researches, it would have been well for Mr. Hermann to submit the matter to a recognized authority on American history, or, better still, to the American Historical Association. His own readings have been limited. He quotes Russell's and Olney's histories, and 'Chambers's Encyclopædia,' but he does not know of Bancroft (the Western) or Henry Adams. The work closes with a partisan cry for annexation and general expansion. Such work stultifies the Office in the eyes of the intelligent.

—Expansionists and anti-expansionists alike can find ammunition in the ninth volume of Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Jefferson's Writings (Putnam's). The period

(1807-1815) is posterior to the acquisition of Louisiana by this imaginative continental spirit. To the Governor of that Territory the President wrote on October 29, 1808: "The truth is, that the patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States, but it is our duty to say nothing and to do nothing for or against either. If they succeed, we shall be well satisfied to see Cuba and Mexico remain in their present dependence; but very unwilling to see them in that of either France or England, politically or commercially. We consider their interests and ours as the same, and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere. We wish to avoid the necessity of going to war till our revenue shall be entirely liberated from debt." On April 19, 1809, he reverts to this idea in a letter to President Madison: "I suppose the conquest of Spain will soon force a delicate question on you as to the Floridas and Cuba, which will offer themselves to you. Napoleon will certainly give his consent without difficulty to our receiving the Floridas, and with some difficulty possibly Cuba." When the war of 1812 was in progress, he thought, "The acquisition of Canada this year, as far as the neighborhood of Quebec, will be a mere matter of marching, and will give us experience for the attack of Halifax the next, and the final expulsion of England from the American continent."

—On the other hand, in his special message of February 10, 1807, he apologizes for a proposed gunboat armament as "merely for defensive operations," not fitted to protect our commerce on the high seas; "and still less can it become an excitement to engage in offensive maritime war." Writing to Thomas Paine on September 6, 1807, he believes that "gunboats are the only water defence which can be useful to us, and protect us from the ruinous folly of a navy." This without presence of Capt. Mahan; and the following, of the Philippines (to Clement Caine, September 16, 1811): "What, in short, is the whole system of Europe towards America but an atrocious and insulting tyranny? One hemisphere of the earth, separated from the other by wide seas on both sides, having a different system of interests flowing from different climates, different soils, different productions, different modes of existence, and its own local relations and duties, is made subservient to all the petty interests of the other, to their laws, their regulations, their passions and wars, and interdicted from social intercourse, from the interchange of mutual duties and comforts with their neighbors, enjoined on all men by the laws of nature." He anticipated that the insular colonies would "soon have to take care of themselves, and to enter into the general system of independence and free intercourse with their neighboring and natural friends."

—The General Index to *Notes and Queries* has just appeared in an eighth volume of 143 pages, which, with the seven previously issued, brings the total of pages up to 1,221. The range of *Notes and Queries*, which will fill out its hundredth volume this year, or 50,000 pages, is wider than that of any encyclopædia that has ever been projected. Established in London, the most cosmopolitan of cities, its Notes, whether resulting from experience, interviews, or research, were such as to rouse cosmopolitan Queries or

criticism from the utmost corners of the English-speaking world. Week by week it has taxed for its purposes all departments of the British Museum, as well as returned and retired travellers. In America as well as in the Old World, every puzzling question arising in the conversation, games, or customs of society has led to Queries, and hence to Notes which have year by year shed new side-lights on domestic life. No literary enterprise is too grand to seek or to find a valuable auxiliary in *Notes and Queries*. The Oxford Dictionary, incomparably superior to any similar work in any language, asks and receives such assistance almost every week—indispensable minutiae which had eluded its thousand co-workers. So has the unrivalled 'Dictionary of National Biography,' now approaching its sixtieth volume, been aided in all its serial issues. When articles on any subject have become numerous they are classified, to facilitate examining them. Thus, in the eighth index alone the Shaksperiana show five columns of titles, pointing to hundreds of criticisms. This department was long ago deemed by Furness worthy of his study (see Eysell in "Hamlet," etc.), and hence cannot be neglected by any dramatic student. As to Proverbs, observing that 246 of them were treated in the first series and 335 in the last, and that these numbers indicate the average in the other fourscore volumes, one sees a quarry from which it would be easy to build up a better book of proverbs than has been elaborated since the days of Solomon. Similar compilations might be made of Songs, sacred and secular, Epigrams, Epitaphs, etc. The present index points to more than 400 quotations, few of them in Bartlett, but many of them worthy to stand there. The word Folk-lore was created by the first editor of *Notes and Queries*, and its first series showed 300 paragraphs, or longer remarks, on the subject. So suggestive and hence sought for are the general indexes that the earlier ones are out of print—and if one turns up it brings a fabulous price at auction. That to the second series, borrowed from an Historical Society, was all copied with a pen by one Wisconsin minister who could neither find nor purchase the master key to a dozen favorites in his choice library. The compiler of the eighth and jubilee index cannot but recall the fact that no survivor remains of those who founded and first labored for *Notes and Queries*.

—The Journal of the Anthropological Institute for August-November, 1898, contains three papers by Dr. E. B. Tylor, the well-known professor of anthropology at Oxford, which record an epoch-making step towards the sound understanding of Totemism, a subject upon which writers of eminence have sometimes ventured without a due consideration of its intricacy, or of the likelihood that any generalizations prematurely achieved would be discredited by the subsequent accumulation of well-attested facts. Such well-attested facts Dr. Tylor presents in his first paper, where he publishes, with a plate and the outline of an interpretation, a totem-post from the Haida village of Masset (Queen Charlotte Islands). The monument itself is now set up at Fox-Warren (Weybridge). The Haidas and the Tlingit of Alaska are slightly varied branches of the same stock, and their otherwise parallel clan-groups, Raven and Eagle or Raven and Wolf, have a different arrangement of totems. Totemism has taken among the Haidas, as among the Tlingit, special forms

adapted to local circumstances, but has fully maintained its predominantly social importance. It is the basis of hospitality and asylum, has enforced exogamy, and served as a bond of social union. Its religious function among the Haidas and the Tlingit is strictly governed by the fact that neither of these tribal groups has anywhere developed the notion of lineal descent from the totem-animal. Such a belief, common though it is among American totemists, is wholly absent among the tribes under consideration, and its place is taken by certain rude notions of transmigration and reincarnation. Ultimately we reach some tale of an ancestor's adventure with the totem which takes the place of any notion of literal descent from the totem. The totem-post published and described in Dr. Tylor's first paper illustrates all these points more or less adequately so far as the Haidas go, and with the Haidas are involved the Tlingit of our own Alaska. The second paper establishes something almost identical in the case of certain Pacific Coast tribes living to the south of the Tlingit, since it interprets two British-Columbian house-posts with totemic carvings. These are in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, of which Dr. Tylor is the director.

—Professor Tylor's third paper, though by no means a long one, is rather longer than the first two, and gives some very much needed general "Remarks on Totemism." These go back to the beginning of the subject in a book of the last century by J. Long, a trader and interpreter among the North American Indians. From Long, McLennan appears to have derived, with the word totem or totem, the facts dwelt upon in his article on "The Worship of Animals and Plants" (*Fortnightly*, 1869-70). McLennan, in order to interpret the great gods of the world as evolved from the humbler rank of totem-animals, did much violence to well-known features of primitive animal worship. (1.) Such peoples as the Natchez—worshippers of the sun—he arbitrarily classed as totemists, and lost sight entirely of the fundamental idea of the totem by including the sun among totems. Nothing about the totem is more essential or indispensable than that it should always be one of a species. Thus, at the very outset, one important reach of savage religious observance which is clearly distinct from totemism was unwarrantably appropriated. (2.) Another great range of savage religion was similarly annexed by the theory that gods having their incarnation or embodiment in species of sacred animals may ultimately be identified with those animals from whom they have presumably been evolved. After scrutinizing with destructive effect Robertson Smith's whole notion of placular totem-sacrifice, and his attribution of the idea of communion in sacrifice to primitive savage observance, as well as Mr. J. G. Frazer's discovery of totemism among the Samoans, the writer concludes that the whole view deriving gods from totems depends upon accounts of Fijian and Samoan gods which are demonstrably erroneous, since totemism has not been discovered among the practices of Fiji or of Samoa. Mr. Andrew Lang having declared that he and Mr. Frazer freely allow that the evidence for sacrifice of the totem and communion in eating him "is very scanty," Dr. Tylor remarks that it "may be reasonable" to go a step further and suggest that

till the totem sacrament is vouched for by some more real proof, it had better fall out of speculative theology. Incidentally, our author also disposes of Dr. Jevons's ludicrous account of totemism as "a low form of Monotheism." The final conclusion is that "analogies, developments, or survivals of totemism into the religions of the old civilized world" should be postponed "until savage and barbaric animal-worship shall have been more strictly classified."

TAYLOR'S ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution: An Historical Treatise, in which is drawn out, by the light of the most recent researches, the gradual development of the English constitutional system, and the growth out of that system of the Federal Republic of the United States. By Hannis Taylor, LL.D. Part I. (xi and 616 pp.), 1892; Part II. (xlv and 645 pp.), 1898. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This is a second-rate book written by a second-hand thinker. 'The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution' is distinctly a second-rate work. But be it noted that this assertion is very far from being the same thing as the statement that Mr. Hannis Taylor has composed a treatise which under no circumstances could be of any value whatever. If 2,000 years hence it should have become as difficult to ascertain the details of English public life as it now is to understand the working of the Athenian Constitution, the discovery of Taylor's 'English Constitution' would be as important as the recent discovery of an Aristotelian account of the Athenian polity. If, again, it had happened that no one had up to the present day written a constitutional history of England, the appearance of Mr. Taylor's book would excite universal interest. Nor, even as things stand, is his treatise uninteresting. It is not so much a bad book as a book which is superfluous, because students can with ease obtain constitutional histories which are better worth reading than the two thick volumes which Mr. Taylor has seen fit to publish. For from whichever point of view you regard these volumes, they will be found to be of less value than other well-known writings.

Mr. Taylor's treatise, for example, is clearly not the result of original research. The writer has conscientiously read all the best-known books on the English Constitution which, during the last fifty years or more, have been published in England or America, or have been translated into English. The writings of Hallam, May, Stubbs, Freeman, Sir Fitzjames Stephen, Sir William Anson, or Professor Dicey, are well known to him. If we take as a specimen of his handiwork that part of his treatise which purports to deal with the growth of the modern ministerial system, we see at once that he has mastered the ordinary and best-known authorities for the period beginning with the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty; but a mere glance at Mr. Taylor's notes also proves that his reading has not deviated from the ordinary channels. Bulwer's 'Life of Lord Palmerston,' May's 'Constitutional History,' Macaulay's 'Pitt,' Sir J. F. Stephen's 'History of the Criminal Law,' the 'Rockingham Memoirs,' Lord Mahon's 'History of England,' Lecky's 'History of the Eighteenth Century,' and the like, are all writings which a man does

well to read; they are recommended, we believe, to the attention of undergraduates who seek to obtain a class in the history schools, either of Oxford or of Cambridge; and we should certainly consider that an undergraduate who had read all, or even two-thirds, of the books which Mr. Taylor refers to in his book vii., had read with industry and judgment, and, as regards one period of English history at any rate, might count upon a First Class. But the sort of work which is creditable to a student is not the kind of study which enables a man to claim credit for original research, or to stand in the same rank as, say, Stubbs, Gardiner, or Maitland.

Mr. Taylor, however, may urge, and with truth, that he makes no claim to have made original discoveries in the realm of English history. The candor, not to say the simplicity, with which he cites his authorities, disarms criticism. J. R. Green was, indeed, on some portions of English history which he had specially studied, an authoritative writer; but, at any rate as regards the later periods, he was no more than a brilliant, and not always a very judicious or accurate, essayist; he himself would have been amused to find himself treated as an authority for well-known facts or current anecdotes of the Georgian era. It is not, we may add, usual to refer in serious historical works to Whitaker. His Almanack is as useful and even as interesting a publication as can be bought for a shilling. But, somehow its citation as an authority has about it to some minds something comic. However this may be, one thing is certain: original research is not the note of Mr. Taylor's work.

Let there, however, be no misunderstanding on this point. The fact that an historian relies on secondary authorities is no proof that he has not produced a history of real originality and of permanent merit. The doctrine, more or less openly inculcated in many quarters, that every man who writes an account of any period in the history of mankind, must of necessity consult for himself all the original sources of information, embodies a noxious delusion. It is an error to suppose that a man may not write much of the very highest value on the basis of information supplied to him by investigators who have themselves inspected the original authorities; and this delusion is noxious because it renders nugatory the labors of earnest investigators. If we cannot on many points take the results arrived at, for instance, by Stubbs or Gardiner as for many purposes final, it is absolutely impossible that historical knowledge should ever progress. The most ordinary common sense suggests that the fabric of historical science can never be raised to any height unless each successive generation can, subject to certain precautions, build upon the foundations laid by their predecessors. If, then, there were nothing more to be said in criticism of Mr. Taylor's workmanship than that he had not thought it necessary to test again for himself the authority for statements made, for example, by Hallam or May, it would still be perfectly possible that he should have produced a first-rate constitutional history of England. What is a more serious thing is, that, somehow or other, he has collected from his authorities only the most obvious and in many cases the most commonplace facts. But this again would be quite compatible with Mr. Taylor having achieved an

object which we suspect he aimed at. He might conceivably, without any knowledge drawn from original sources, and without having read any books but those open to every student, have given a thoroughly good summary of the conclusions arrived at by the many eminent authors who have especially studied the history and the working of English institutions. Such a masterly survey of the present condition of opinion and knowledge with regard to the English Constitution would have been of infinite value. Unfortunately this kind of general view is exactly what we cannot find in Mr. Taylor's pages, and the reasons why we cannot find it are worth noting.

The first is, that our author has, to all appearance, swallowed rather than digested the fruits of his reading. As we glance through his pages we see many references to dicta taken from other authors. Take, for example, a characteristic passage, intended, we presume, to sum up Sir Robert Walpole's system of government. We are told, as we fancy we have been told more than once before, that the great minister was determined that "the firm should be Walpole & Townshend, and not Townshend & Walpole." We are informed (on the authority, by the way, of Green's 'History of the English People') that Sir Robert said, "I will not be the Minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood"; and Walpole's general attitude towards public affairs is summed up in words taken from Carlyle's 'Life of Frederick of Prussia': "He had one rule, that stood in place of many: To keep out of every business which it was possible for human wisdom to stave aside. 'What good will you get out of going into that? Parliamentary criticism, argument, and botheration! Leave well alone.'" Carlyle's invectives, we may remark parenthetically, of which the value, if any, was hortatory and transitory, are as unsuitable for embodiment in a calm and judicial estimate of Walpole's character as can be words uttered by any writer of eminence. But the point on which it is necessary to insist is, that Mr. Taylor's habit of collecting together scraps from the different writers whom he has read is absolutely fatal to the attempt to analyze and express the results of their speculations. It is the device of a man who does not know what analysis means, and is closely connected with the second cause of Mr. Taylor's failure to produce a sketch, so to speak, of the results obtained by other writers. He shows no signs of possessing either the command of style or the logical lucidity, both of which are necessary conditions for the production of a bird's-eye view of historical periods. For the task of summing up the essential results of much reading in a few brilliant pages is not impossible to perform. Boutmy's 'Le Développement de la Constitution et de la Société Politique en Angleterre' is not half the length of one of Mr. Taylor's ponderous volumes, yet it gives a brilliant sketch of the whole development of the British Constitution. Mr. Goldwin Smith has compressed together in 301 pages almost everything that is interesting and important in the annals of the United States. Few, however, it may be urged, are the writers who possess the exquisite lucidity of Boutmy or the epigrammatic terseness of Mr. Goldwin Smith. Let us compare Mr. Taylor with a writer who makes no claim to especial gifts of style. Take Mr. Taswell Langmead's single volume; it is not a brilliant

performance; it is intended for the use of students. We venture to say that, as a summary of the ordinary facts of English constitutional history, it is a more serviceable and better book than Mr. Taylor's treatise.

Mr. Taylor is essentially a second-hand thinker. The expression "second-hand thinker" is open to legitimate criticism, but it conveys a meaning which is not as easily expressed by any other well-recognized term. A second-hand thinker is a speculatist (to revive a word used by Dr. Johnson) who repeats or reëchoes opinions which he has learned from others, and is to be contrasted with theorists who, whatever the intrinsic value of their speculations, think for themselves and look at things with their own eyes and not through spectacles lent them by their neighbors. It is, be it remarked, quite possible that a second-hand thinker may write books of real value. He may summarize with great success the opinions of his time; he may reiterate and thus impress upon the world truths which have not yet become truisms, or which are in danger of being underrated just because they have received general acceptance. A man of originality, on the other hand, who thinks for himself, may, and sometimes does, think wrong, and his writings may turn out little better than a collection of paradoxes or fallacies which have been rejected by the sound sense of mankind. Still, the difference between the theorist who does really think for himself, and the thinker who merely adopts the ideas of others, is a distinction of profound significance. What it amounts to may be seen if we put Montesquieu side by side with Blackstone. The illustrious Frenchman and the Commentator are both authors of extraordinary merit; they are both masters of style. But if a critic asks why Montesquieu is placed high among political thinkers, while Blackstone, in spite of his extraordinary gifts, can hardly claim to be more than one of the most distinguished among England's men of letters, the answer is obvious. Montesquieu, through his speculations are occasionally quite unsound, thinks for himself and generally thinks rightly. Blackstone, on the other hand, as a constitutionalist, with which aspect of him alone we are now concerned, does little more than adopt and repeat the ideas of Montesquieu, or, rather, the ideas which, under the influence of Montesquieu, had, when Blackstone wrote, become current in France and in England. The one is an inventor, the other is an imitator. Now there undoubtedly have been periods when writers on the English Constitution who repeated and propagated theories which they did not themselves originate, have rendered material service to the world. Blackstone, Hallam, even May (that very dreariest of constitutionalists) made generally known facts or theories which had not yet been adequately forced upon the attention of the public. Indeed, of Hallam it may be said that, though his thoughts are commonplace, his general conception of constitutional history exhibited real originality. But there has now ceased to be any legitimate place for writers who can do no more than narrate the well-known facts of English history, or reiterate the truisms, commonplaces, or platitudes which infest the whole realm of constitutional law. True it is, as pointed out by Bagehot, that on the English Constitution "much still remains to be said," but the important things which remain to be said are new things, and not the trite thoughts which

can be picked up by your second-hand thinker.

Now the most marked characteristic of Mr. Taylor's work, to judge his book, as it may fairly be judged, by his reflections on the English Constitution since the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, is that his writings never even by chance reveal a new way of looking at well-worn subjects. The title, it is true, of his treatise shows that when he began writing he had got hold of what is certainly a new, and might have proved in other hands a fruitful, conception, viz., the growth of the Federal Republic of the United States out of the English system of government. Unfortunately, Mr. Taylor seems incapable of turning to account an original idea. The introduction, indeed, to his first volume contains a good number of remarks taken after our author's manner from a lot of other writers on the English origin of the American Republic. But these scattered reflections tell the reader very little which is not common knowledge. What, however, is a more serious matter, Mr. Taylor, as far as we have remarked, except in his introduction, loses hold of the relation between English and American institutions. When dealing, at any rate, with the reign of George III., he writes exactly as would the most commonplace of English historians who had no special knowledge of the United States or of its institutions. His treatise, in short, as regards the reign of George III., is the work of a man who has docilely accepted, for good and bad, the received doctrines of English Liberalism.

In nothing does the commonplace character of his second-hand thinking more clearly appear than in his treatment of Parliamentary reform. He, of course, dwells on the anomalies of Parliamentary representation during the eighteenth century. He repeats for the twentieth time all the commonplaces about the rotten boroughs, the sale of seats, and the like, and he does not even incidentally add a single item to the knowledge of any readers who are acquainted with the best-known authorities for the Parliamentary history of the last century. But Mr. Taylor, while he reiterates statements which hardly bear repetition, lays little or no stress at all on two considerations which, though obvious, are constantly overlooked. The first is, that the unreformed Parliament, with all its anomalies and abuses, did, at least during the eighteenth century, reflect the sentiment of the nation, and on this very account commanded the admiration of a critic as independent and intelligent as Paley. The second is, that there were at different periods two totally different schools of reformers. The ideas of Parliamentary reform carried into effect for a moment at least by Cromwell, and more or less adopted by Chatham and by Pitt, differed essentially from the ideas embodied by the statesmen of 1832 in the great Reform Act. The wish of the earlier reformers was to transfer power from the towns to the country. The later reformers increased, and wished to increase, the power of the great towns. Both the considerations to which we have referred are, we doubt not, well known to Mr. Taylor, and may, for aught we know, be noted in some page of his lengthy volumes; but to have forced them upon the attention of his readers would have involved some slight amount of original thinking, and would have been quite foreign to the genius of a man whose nature prompts

him to repeat the truisms he has learned from the works of known and respectable writers. Why, indeed, a writer who simply repeats others should have been misguided enough to add another book to the already too long list of English constitutional histories, it is hard to say. But if Mr. Taylor has in this matter made a blunder, even his mistake is untainted by originality. There lived in the last century a gentleman mentioned, if we mistake not, by Dr. Johnson, who wrote a book to tell all the world what all the world had for the last twenty years been telling him.

THE INDIAN FAMINE.

A Tour through the Famine Districts of India. By F. H. S. Merewether, Reuter's Special Famine Commissioner. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1898.

No manner of American man can have failed to learn something about the famine of 1896 in India. Readers of the *Cosmopolitan* cannot forget articles by Julian Hawthorne, who, specially commissioned by that magazine, had in the first months of 1897 travelled widely where the Indian dearth was most destructive. Hawthorne proclaims that Mr. Merewether was "the only man he met in India whose statements concerning the famine could be entirely relied on." This testimony must insure Mr. Merewether a candid hearing. It was called for to render his words as credible as his photographs.

The famine tour of our author outside of Bombay lasted sixty-seven days, during which, in traversing five thousand miles, he stopped at a score of the starvation centres. His investigations were in the service of Reuter's Telegraph Company. He interviewed functionaries in every province to whom he was accredited. Besides, he independently penetrated into hospitals, poorhouses, and relief works. Whatever this looker-on learned during a day was often telegraphed across a quarter of the globe, and the next morning read in the *London Times*. More of his telegrams, and letters as well, were dispatched to Bombay gazettes, and told of his progress in melancholy research. The volume before us, growing out of this nucleus, betrays haste and a literary carelessness surprising in an Oxonian, so that it recalls the old Greek courier who ran well but arrived too much exhausted for fitly announcing his tidings. Though the famine investigator had been already five years in India, he had seen little of its interior. It was, therefore, natural that he should dilate upon the national marvels and peculiarities which were forced upon his attention. His pages of this nature (which are not few) are instructive and pleasant reading. They help to save us from supping too full of horrors. But there is less excuse for such padding as multitudinous needless native words—and those not always interpreted—as well as half a dozen pages about taking a midnight train at a flag-station, or some hours' delay where a train was off the track, etc.

The famine of 1896-7, with the diseases it engendered, as Hawthorne and others held, produced eight million deaths, and was the most destructive chronicled in the annals of British India. Such a mortality had appeared impossible in view of the safeguards against it which had been preparing for a generation—especially irrigation-wells, canals, and tanks; as well as facilities for

transportation. More than twenty famines had occurred within the century, and few of them had proved too colossal for provincial authorities to deal with. Hence rumors in 1896 of unprecedented starvation which rung in the ears of Indian magnates, long made little impression. Towards the close of that year, when such reports had startled the British public, their Oriental representatives were charged (and not without reason) with culpable incredulity, tardiness, and inefficiency. They had been hoping against hope for the early and then for at least the latter rain. The vice-regal authorities were not moved to action as they should have been by Indian physiography. Two-fifths of the country is beyond hope of irrigation. Water for storage-reservoirs is there wanting, as Pennsylvanians found it on Alleghany heights when they needed it for canal feeders. Harvests there without rainfall are as hopeless as in Egypt when the Nile floods fall. If the heaven is brass the earth will be iron. It could not long be denied that the famine had been underrated, and by a natural reaction a sort of panic set in, both in India and in England. Half the population and more of the business of Bombay vanished when plague followed in the footsteps of famine. At this crisis, when Reuter's patrons demanded the truth—nothing extenuated, nothing exaggerated—he selected Mr. Merewether from a crowd of reporters to learn the exact facts and to make them known with all possible dispatch.

His was a sadder pilgrimage than Dante's through the "Inferno." It lasted more days than the hours of the Italian's. The culmination of the one in the starvation of Ugolino and his four children was repeated a million times in the other. Shakspeare's lowest deep, that "man's life's as cheap as beast's," is nothing to the lower deep which here opens. A mother who forgot her sucking child so as to have no compassion on the son of her womb when his tongue was cleaving to the roof of his mouth, was no more the strange thing the Hebrew prophet had thought it. Nor yet were eyes that consumed away in their sockets within skeletons who still stood on their feet. Photographs from the Merewether kodak present these abhorred ingredients to the eye beyond the power of words, and beyond imagination in Dante's chambers of imagery. The investigator's credentials gave him an inside view not only of the desolations which had been wrought, but, what is more, of the manifold endeavors to stay them which were on trial. His journeys were mainly by night, and, thanks to this economy of time, he could, within sixty-seven days, furnish an eye-witness's reports regarding starvation and relief at nearly thirty points of darkest India, and those dotting an area two or three times as large as the British Islands.

His first and last discovery was what all men know and what no man really feels, that whatever was doing would have done a more perfect work had it been begun sooner. He says that in provinces equally pinched the famine "butcher's bill was no more than a tenth as large where relief came early as where it came late" (p. 292). The same truth was exemplified in individual sufferers. When taken into hospitals, it was found with surprise that many had been unawares fatally famine-struck, and were beyond hope. When at length the Indian Government clearly saw the immensity of the

task before it, its spirit mounted with the occasion. But haste sometimes hindered good speed, and, on the contrary, "monumental red-tapeism" (our author's phrase) bound relief measures in chains and fetters of iron. The truth is, that no wealth or power, no skill or good will, could now say to the famine, Thus far, no further. But relief works were forthwith established. These were on a gigantic scale. One, for its supply of small copper coin, required "an almost continuous service of an elephant train" (p. 148). Another was a camp which showed 50,000 men working in one body. "It was soon found, however, that the herding together of such a mass of human beings was flying in the face of Providence, and invoking the appearance of the dread cholera demon" (p. 261). Religious crowds, matted and massed together like a swarm of bees, are found in every sacred city of India whenever famine appears. The present writer was caught at Kumbhakonam (interpreted "mouth of the water-jar") in an army of pilgrims which filled the city, importuning the rain goddess there enshrined to grant the one thing needful for their withering crops. There was no hotel, no Government bungalow, no station lodging, and no train for escape by railway. Allowed to sit up all night in the stifling waiting-room, he heard hundreds gathered round the station for an early train praying and wailing without ceasing all night long. In such throngs, Indian plagues are generated and propagated, just the same whether assemblages are sacred or secular.

Monster camps were perhaps a temporary necessity. They did great good, but their operations were attended with much immediate waste and many ultimate evils. At the end of February, 1897, 2,948,085 persons were maintained at such establishments. The water supply was often poisoned at its sources by the sewage of the neighborhood, the shelter was only what could be built by the laborers in two days allowed them for that purpose, and the clothing only the rags which they had been unable to sell. They complained much of cold to Mr. Merewether. How much they suffered can be understood by those who, like the writer, have there within twenty-four hours felt equally afraid of sunstroke and of freezing. Thermometers are no measures of feeling. The highest ideal of sanitation is to "smear a room daily all over with cow-dung."

The wages paid at relief works were variable, rising and falling with the cost of the cheapest vegetable food in local markets. Had pay been higher than the purchasing power of such a ration, the seekers for it would have been beyond arithmetic. The results of work done often turned out to be no more than one-fifth of what was common in ordinary contracts. Drones were safe. The penal ration was no deterrent. It could not be reduced much below the maximum, or starvation would follow—it did follow many times when there was no reduction. The dole dispensed by the head paymaster was more or less intercepted on its way down to the workman, and became like a sand-swallowed river which is smaller at mouth than at source. At one relief station, where the daily disbursement was four hundred and fifty rupees, it was ascertained that less than half of it was expended by the laborers for food—and nothing for luxuries. What became of the residue? In the judgment of the local treasurer it was embezzled by underling intermediaries, some

of whom were detected in the presence of Mr. Merewether.

Relief stations of the largest size were found inexpedient and were quickly broken up. They were infected with the curses of the military camps from which they often borrowed the name. Not being a necessity, they had no excuse for existence. In several, however, of considerable dimensions, Mr. Merewether found much to praise. It had been urged that wages could never be paid daily in one of them, but he says: "I saw 6,500 people paid in half an hour" (p. 282), and details the process. Again, he saw rivalry excited between competing gangs through an appeal to the native love of pomp and circumstance. The gang who during a week had yielded the greatest out-turn of work, were for the next week solemnly escorted to and from their task by the beat of a drum, and a professional *tom-tomist* had been specially engaged to relieve the monotony of the work with soul-inspiring music (p. 283).

All through Mr. Merewether's painful pilgrimage in famine districts the question what to do about it and how to do it was always before him. His conviction became firm that the system of public relief works ought to lose ground, and that of village relief ought to gain the ascendancy. He shows village relief as propping the wall of society where it is weakest in time to keep it from falling—saving villagers from selling cattle and tools, clothes and furniture, at ruinous sacrifices, from eating their seed-corn, and snapping asunder all home ties—at last selling themselves into coolie servitude beyond the sea. He shows up the grand works as disintegrating villages (which are preëminently the units of Indian life) as fatally as any band of kidnappers could. Such unwieldy works multiply the dangers of fraud and oppression; they employ villagers on improvements in which they cannot feel the interest they would in those at home. Hence they obtain only half-hearted service. They cannot lift up hands that hang down nor strengthen the feeble knees. To revive the villages which they have killed is now the hardest governmental labor.

Christian missions as humanitarian institutions in India have never come to the front as in these years of scarcity. Their praise is not only in the writings of Merewether and Hawthorne, but in the mouths of English officials who had ignored or despised them. No other whites except the missionaries are in touch with those whom famine pinches most. None are at all fit to be wardens of orphans now more numerous than ever. None can make a little money leaven so vast a mass. No class can be so safely trusted as honest and wise almoners of bounty.

Historic Towns of New England. Edited by Lyman P. Powell. Putnams. 1898. Pp. 599.

Historic Pilgrimages in New England. By Edwin M. Bacon. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 1898. Pp. 473.

The present fad for patriotic and historical societies—"Sons," "Daughters," and "Descendants" of every one and everything—is doubtless responsible for the new crop of guide-books and annals. We have before us specimens of the two classes into which such books can be divided. 'Historic Pilgrimages in New England' is the work of a single writer. 'Historic Towns of New England' is

made up of sketches of Portland, by S. T. Packard; Rutland, by E. D. Mead; Salem, by G. D. Latimer; Boston, by T. W. Higginson; Cambridge, by S. A. Eliot; Concord, by F. B. Sanborn; Plymouth, by Ellen Watson; Cape Cod Towns, by Katherine L. Bates; Deerfield, by G. Sheldon; Newport, by Susan Coolidge; Providence, by W. B. Weeden; Hartford, by Mary K. Talcott; and New Haven, by F. H. Cogswell. The thirteen sketches in this latter volume are supposed to have been edited by Lyman P. Powell; and the introduction, by G. P. Morris, has the singular advantage of being so entirely disconnected from the rest of the book as to be equally serviceable hereafter as the preface to any other book. Some, at least, of the remaining contributors to this miscellany have a literary reputation, but none have added to it by their present work. We mean by this that no one of these essays shows the slightest evidence of the hand of a master, nor any sign of that complete devotion to a subject which forces the author to write because he has a story which he must tell. We have said that Mr. Powell is supposed to have edited the book; on reconsideration, we conclude that he, or some one man, has really edited it with a flowing pen and a keen pair of scissors, as otherwise a dozen individual writers could not have maintained such a placid—we had almost said dreary—uniformity of style and treatment. We can, however, cheerfully praise the illustrations, which, though not specially new in subject, are a relief to the text.

Mr. Bacon's volume is a guide-book of modern type, covering the history of various places near Boston, and of course largely devoted to that of the capital city. There is a show of information elicited under the pretence of rambles made by the author for the edification of a young companion, but the fiction is not amusing nor well maintained. Still, we prefer the guidance of Mr. Bacon, whose pen has for years been in constant use in many fields of literature, to that of the syndicate responsible for the other volume.

The trouble with such books as these is that there are too many rivals in the field. Take Boston, for example, as a subject. There is scarcely anything new to be said on the points handled in all alike. The old houses have left no traces, the few surviving portraits have been reproduced to satiety, and the quotations from a few authorities are, as Macaulay would say, familiar to every school-boy. Although the town records have been published by the liberality of the city, no compiler of these books takes the trouble to read and digest this new material, to discover and bring to light important facts. Instead, we have a rehash of the old stock pieces, Gov. Winthrop, Peter Faneuil, Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Adams; the Beacon Hill and Faneuil Hall, the Tea-Party and the Boston Massacre. It is surely time to demand a surcease of the old, old stories, and the exercise of a little of the true spirit of historic inquiry. There is more value in the essays of Mr. C. W. Ernst on the development of municipal government in Boston, brief and disjointed though they be, than in a hundred of these beautiful volumes, the product of the camera and the engraver. The fact that the ward system began with division of the town between the various scavengers, in order to establish health regulations, becomes of stupendous importance when we consider that hence came the local militia, the fire-system, and other forms of local gov-

ernment, which so influenced the public mind that they resulted in city government and the gradual evolution of ward politics and ward bosses.

And yet, in view of the fearful degeneracy of the daily press, we may rejoice that our children are supplied with clean and attractive literature in books like these. Perhaps here and there the seed will take root, and a crop of true historians will arise.

Doctor Pascal. By Emile Zola. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. Macmillan. Pp. 491.

'Doctor Pascal' is the last of the Rougon-Macquart series to which M. Zola has devoted the greater portion of his literary labors, and contains, as is fitting, a larger measure than any of its predecessors of the author's theory of practice, his philosophy of life. Heredity has been the topic of the series from the beginning, the heredity of the Rougons and the Macquarts worked out under the conditions in France in the Second Empire; and Doctor Pascal, the son (as the student of M. Zola will recollect) of Madame Félicité, studies the family tree of the Rougon-Macquarts as M. Zola himself had studied it, and announces M. Zola's deductions. Whether those deductions were anticipated by M. Zola at the time when he began the exposition which has reached its completion in them, the critic may well doubt.

There have been from the first two persons in the unity of M. Zola's inspiration, the bard and the doctrinaire, and they have belonged always to different philosophical camps, and had different periods of predominance. In M. Zola's earlier novels the bard is predominant, and the bard is "positive," as the French say, and pessimistic. In M. Zola's trilogy the doctrinaire is predominant, and the doctrinaire is optimistic and mystical. 'Doctor Pascal' marks the transition from the earlier novels to the trilogy, and is the masterpiece neither of the bard nor of the doctrinaire, but the indispensable commentary on the masterpieces of both.

"Ah, this heredity! what a subject of endless meditation to him!" M. Zola exclaims of his hero. "The strangest, the most wonderful part of it all, was it not, that the resemblance between parents and children should not be perfect, mathematically exact? He had, in the beginning, made a genealogical tree of his family, especially traced, in which the influences from generation to generation were distributed equally—the father's part and the mother's part."

Out of evil, fatally, evil comes; there is the tragedy, done to the bard's hand, and the finished pessimism. "But the living reality contradicted the theory at almost every point. Heredity, instead of being resemblance, was an effort towards resemblance thwarted by circumstances and environment"; there is the possibility of optimism and of the infinite approach to the perfecting of man. "Atavism he doubted; it seemed to him, in spite of a remarkable instance, taken from his own family, that resemblance at the end of two or three generations must disappear by reason of accidents, of interferences, of a thousand possible combinations." It is doubtful whether any man of equal abilities, unless it was M. Zola's master, Honoré de Balzac, ever "paid himself" with scientific speculations so flimsy; between the bard and the doctrinaire there is little to choose, but the relation between them in M. Zola's mind is not obscure.

"The wisdom of God hath methodized the course of things unto the advantage of good-

ness, and thinking considerators overlook not the tract thereof," wrote Sir Thomas Browne in the seventeenth century; and M. Zola in the nineteenth has no other message to deliver, and, in spite of his parade of positivism, has no credentials to offer beyond the simple faith that is in him.

"Perhaps he, too [Doctor Pascal], had been only a dreamer, for he had dreamed the most beautiful dreams, the final belief in a better world, where science should have bestowed incalculable power upon man—to accept everything, to turn everything to our happiness, to know everything, and to foresee everything; to make nature our servant, to live in the tranquillity of intelligence satisfied. Faith in life, voluntary and regular labor, would suffice for health. Evil was only the unexplained side of things; suffering would one day assuredly be utilized."

And the book reaches its climax and its close in a scene ten months after Dr. Pascal has died, worn out with labor and devotion to his studies. Clotilde, his niece, and the mother of his posthumous child,

"glanced involuntarily at the ancestral tree spread out beside her. Yes, the menace was there—so many crimes, so much filth, side by side with so many tears and so much patient goodness. . . . And after so many terrible Rougons, so many vile Macquarts, still another had been born; life did not fear to create another of them. . . . Even at the risk of producing monsters, it must of necessity create, never wearied of creating, in the hope, no doubt, that the healthy and the good must one day prevail. . . . A mother nursing, was she [Clotilde] not the image of the world continued and saved? She bent over, she looked into the child's limpid eyes, which opened joyously, eager for the light. . . . Again came a distant burst of music. This must be the apotheosis, the moment when Grandmamma Félicité, with her silver trowel, was laying the corner-stone of the monument to the glory of the Rougons. The vast blue sky seemed gladdened by the Sunday festival; and in the warm silence of the workroom Clotilde smiled down at the child still nursing, his little arm flung straight up in the air like a banner of life."

Manila and the Philippines. By M. A. Hamm. F. T. Neely. 1898.

And now Margherita Arlina Hamm has given us the latest book on the Philippines, which makes the fourth on the same subject since the battle of Manila Bay. It is dedicated "to Rizal and Aguinaldo, the dead martyr and living hero," and the preface states that the context is based on notes made by the author while a resident and traveller in the Far East, some of which have already been used in newspaper correspondence. The volume contains a chapter on Luzon, one on Manila, several on the manners and customs of the people, architecture and shops, one each on Iloilo, Cebu, and Sulu, and a dozen on the inhabitants of the archipelago, the animal world, mines and minerals, typhoons, and the outlying islands. The author goes into many minute details about local peculiarities in custom, construction, and mode of life, which range all the way from the stitching used in making pineapple-cloth to the abuses which brought about the brotherhood of the Katipunan and revolution of 1896. She concludes her book with a chapter on the future of the Philippines, in which we read that this depends chiefly on the great Powers of to-day. She states that the soil is rich, the climate salubrious, the harbors on the coast safe, and the archipelago capable of supporting a hundred million human beings in comfort. Miss Hamm thinks that the only things needed are justice and wisdom to make the

Filipinos develop into importers of shiploads of flour, textiles, rails, preserved meats, boots, shoes, and machinery.

The author seems to have got together a good deal of specific information about these much-discussed islands, but we do not take it for granted that she has personally examined many of the conditions of things which she describes. She has read well, talked with others who have seen more than she has, and does not doubt for a moment that, after the exercise of justice and wisdom, steel rails will flow into the country, the natives will change their diet from rice to canned goods, and suddenly take to wearing gloves and shoes, and the whole archipelago will teem with prosperity and commerce. Since the author speaks of the climate as salubrious, it is not to be supposed she has remained in the islands long enough to suffer from climatic maladies that dampen enthusiasm. While her production is purely that of a correspondent, it makes interesting reading, and its 218 pages contain both information and anecdote. It is cheaply manufactured, and contains twenty-three illustrations.

The Wild Fowl of the United States and British Possessions. By Daniel Giraud Elliot, F.R.S.E., etc. Francis P. Harper. 1898. 8vo, pp. xxii, 316, frontispiece portrait and 63 plates.

We should have more to say of this excellent work were it not that we reviewed Mr. Elliot's two previous volumes at considerable length, and all that we have said of them is equally applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the present case. By the "Wild Fowl" of the title Mr. Elliot means the *Anatida*, or family of the swans, geese, ducks, and mergansers, of great economic importance and of special interest to sportsmen. His previous books, to which we have referred, were respectively upon the *Limicola* or shore birds, and the *Gallina* or order which includes poultry; each of which groups is comparable with the *Anatida* in the points just said. The three together possess probably greater attractiveness to a larger number of persons than all other birds put together; and the "trilogy" now completed may be rated as one three-volume work, of uniform excellence throughout. The numerous illustrations of the Wild Fowl are mainly by the same artist, Mr. E. L. Sheppard, to whose merits and what we consider his limitations we have before referred; but in the present instance the author has collaborated to some extent in producing the plates. The frontispiece will be recognized by Mr. Elliot's many friends as the very man they know intimately—the naturalist himself, as distinguished from the man of the world and of affairs represented in the portrait which has hitherto had a wider circulation. This presentment may be held to atone for the versification with which our genial author has been tempted to open and close the present volume. *Non omnes omnia possumus*—which may be taken to mean that there is not a 'possum up every gum-tree.

Mr. Elliot shows in this instance more clearly than before his superiority to that rule of thumb of A. O. U. Code which dictates that original misspellings of generic and specific names shall be inviolate for ever, and is justly severe upon those whom he styles the advocates of illiteracy—those whom Dr. Coues calls "impurists" when they

twit him with being a purist. He has perhaps twenty departures, in this single family *Anatida*, from the supposed established nomenclature of the A. O. U. Check-list, some of the changes being merely orthographic, others affecting the status of genera and species or subspecies. We are satisfied that most of these innovations are sound, and anticipate with confidence their prompt adoption by the Committee on Nomenclature which holds the fate of all names in the hollow of its collective hand. One neat point Mr. Elliot makes is that *Harelda*, usually unexplained and supposed to be a nonsense word, is an original misprint for *Havelda*, derived from a Scandinavian or Icelandic word meaning "sea-duck." The etymology of *Branta* from *βραγχος*, Greek name of some water-fowl, is also correctly given, as are the unwonted but proper spellings of *Aes* for *Aiz*, *Aethya* for *Aythya*, and *Eidemia* for *Oidemia*. Perhaps we may some day discover an etymon for Leach's term *Dafila*, but it still remains a mystery, if not mere nonsense.

The Bayeux Tapestry: A History and Description, by Frank Rede Fowke. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1898.

In the little museum connected with the public library of the town of Bayeux in Normandy is preserved a very remarkable piece of embroidery. This is more than 200 feet long, and about eighteen inches wide; a piece of linen upon which a long series of designs have been worked with the needle and in worsted. It is admitted on all hands that the subject of the embroidery is the invasion of England by Duke William of Normandy, the details of the Battle of Hastings, and the conquest of the country. The only serious dispute is as to whether the work is absolutely contemporary with its chief actors, or is of a somewhat later epoch. The name commonly given to it in English, "the Bayeux Tapestry," is, of course, a mis-translation of the French *Tapisserie de Bayeux*; in no sense is it a tapestry, using that word with the common English meaning. The prefatory chapter of the volume under consideration relates the story of this monument of old time, and states the arguments for its greater or less antiquity, and for and against the old tradition that Queen Matilda directed its manufacture. The final sentences of this history (p. 23) give the reasons for the author's conviction that it was originally a church work. "I conclude," says Mr. Fowke, "the tapestry to be a contemporary work in which Queen Matilda had no part, and that it was probably ordered for his Cathedral by Bishop Odo, and made by Norman work-people at Bayeux."

The authentic documentary record of the tapestry dates back not so very far. In 1562, when the cathedral at Bayeux was pillaged by the Huguenots, the embroidery was concealed for awhile, apparently in the town hall, and afterwards restored to the church, where it was used for decoration. Being there, it was naturally disregarded as an historical monument, or as a work of art, by the people of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, but Montfaucon's famous work contains a drawing of it, and at that time (that is to say, about 1730) papers were read about it, and discussion grew somewhat interesting. It went to Paris in revolutionary times, after having risked destruction as a thing of no consequence. In

Paris it was somewhat celebrated; it came back to Bayeux on the fall of Napoleon, and then it was adjusted, like a modern movable panorama, and rolled upon two cylinders. It is only since 1842 that it has been securely placed and cared for in a serious way.

So much for the history of the piece in modern times. As to its character, its purpose, the record contained in it, the curious information it gives concerning costumes and armor—the rest of the book is devoted to it. The text from page 25 to 136 contains a description of each picture which has been selected by the author from the continuous band of decoration. Then follows an index, and then a series of seventy-nine half-tone plates, reproducing with some success, and on a scale of two-ninths of the original, the parts which, as above stated, were selected for analysis. The volume, therefore, is a piece of history of singular value to those who have not ready access to larger and fuller reproductions, or to the piece itself, and it also serves as a very faithful and fairly complete guidebook for the famous embroidery.

With Peary near the Pole. By Elvind Astrup. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1898. 362 pp. 8vo. Ill'd.

Mr. Astrup will be remembered as the companion of Peary during the adventurous and successful journey to the northern border of the Inland Ice, and also as a member of the second expedition which in 1893-4 attempted to continue these explorations, but was defeated by exceptional bad weather that made it impossible to carry out Peary's plans. The present volume is a translation from the Norwegian original, by Mr. H. J. Bull, and is well illustrated from sketches and photographs by the author.

It might be supposed that the volumes already published by Mr. and Mrs. Peary must cover everything of interest connected with

the expeditions, and that the present one was, therefore, superfluous. We were agreeably disappointed to find that this was not the case. It is, of course, true that the essential facts of their work, with the fullest detail, are contained in Mr. Peary's volumes. But Astrup's story not only gives in compact form the outlines of the work done by the expeditions with which he was connected, but adds to this the details of an important exploration of the shores of Melville Bay made by him in person, and also some very fresh and entertaining observations on the natives of this desolate region. Without literary pretension or tendency to gush, the author has told his experiences very happily. His personal enthusiasm and interest in his work are conspicuous on every page, and make his book pleasant and interesting to the reader. Indeed, for the average reader, who is not an Arctic expert and does not care for minute details of travel and outfitting, we feel justified in recommending this little volume as the best and most interesting account of its subject that has yet been printed. A large proportion of it is devoted to the Eskimo of Northwest Greenland, whose good qualities are frankly recognized and heartily appreciated.

It has always been cause for regret that no trained anthropologist formed one of the members of the various expeditions which have wintered in the vicinity of Cape York since the *Polaris* expedition, and that Bessels's volume on the Eskimos of this region has never been available in translation. These Eskimos are certainly one of the most interesting groups of people known to the ethnologist, on account of the extraordinary isolation in which they have existed until very lately. Yet no monographic study of them has been made, and, until the publication of the book now under review, their social characteristics have been almost wholly ignored in the reports of explorers. The account given by Astrup is not

profound or monographic, but it does contain a great deal of welcome matter, although the work of an untrained observer.

The book is handsomely printed and well illustrated; but the map of Greenland is roughly drawn and there is no index.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Addy, S. O. *The Evolution of the English House.* London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
Auringer, O. C., and Smith, J. O. *The Christ. A Poetical Study of His Life.* Putnam. \$1.25.
Beal, Prof. W. J. *Seed Dispersal.* Boston: Ginn & Co.
Boardman, Rev. G. D. *The Kingdom. An Exegetical Study.* Scribners. \$2.
Briggs, Prof. C. A. *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture.* Scribners. \$3.
Buckley, Rev. J. M. *Extemporaneous Oratory for Professional and Amateur Speakers.* Eaton & Mains. \$1.50.
Carrington, Gen. H. B. *Washington the Soldier.* Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$2.50.
Dändliker, Prof. Karl. *A Short History of Switzerland.* London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.
Dwight, Henrietta L. *The Golden Age Cook Book.* Alliance Publishing Co. \$1.25.
Foulke, W. D. *Slav or Saxon.* 2d ed. Putnam. \$1.
Hamilton, S. M. *Letters to Washington.* Vol. I. 1752-1756. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Henderson, J. F. *Scottish Vernacular Literature. A Succinct History.* London: David Nutt.
Hume, M. A. S. *Spain, its Greatness and Decay (1479-1788).* Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
Hyslop, Prof. J. H. *Democracy. A Study of Government.* Scribners. \$1.50.
Lee, Albert. *The Key of the Holy House. A Romance of Old Antwerp.* Appletons. \$1.
Löwenberg, Rev. W. J., and Brierley, Henry. *The Registers of the Parish Church of Bury in the County of Lancaster.* Rochdale, Eng.: James Clegg.
Martin, Prof. H. N. *The Human Body.* 5th ed. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.20.
Morehouse, G. W. *The Wilderness of Worlds.* Peter Eckler. \$1.
Newcomer, Prof. A. G. *Elements of Rhetoric.* Henry Holt & Co. \$1.
Ober, F. A. *Puerto Rico and its Resources.* Appletons.
Parmele, Mary P. *A Short History of Germany. A Short History of France.* Scribners. Each 60c.
Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de. *Paul et Virginie.* Henry Holt & Co. 50c.
Schultz, Jeanne. *La Main de Sainte-Modestine.* Paris: Calmann Lévy.
Scott, D. C. *Labor and the Angel.* Boston: Copeland & Day. \$1.25.
Scribner's Magazine, 1898. 2 vols. Scribners.
Sullivan, W. R. W. *Morality as a Religion.* London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$2.
Thompson, Prof. S. P. *Michael Faraday, His Life and Work.* Macmillan. \$1.25.
Thwaites, R. G. *The Jesuit Relations.* Vols. XXXIII. and XXXIV. Cleveland, O.: Burrows Bros. Co.
Trevelyan, Sir G. O. *The American Revolution.* Part I. Longmans, Green & Co.

HENRY HOLT & CO., N.Y.

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

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Edited by Professor ARTHUR GRAVES CANFIELD of the University of Kansas. xxii+382 pp. 16mo. \$1 net.

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